THE REVOLUTION OF AMERICA.

BRITISH MUSEUM

REVOLUTION

OF

AMERICA.

THE REVOLUTION OF AMERICA.

BY

THE ABBÉ RAYNAL,

AUTHOR OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS AND COMMERCE OF THE EUROPEANS IN BOTH THE INDIES.

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For Meſſrs. PRICE, W. WATSON, SLEATOR, WHITESTONE, SHEPPARD, LYNCH, COLLES, WILSON, WILLIAMS, CHAMBERLAINE, R. CROSS, T. STEWART, WOGAN, BURNET, JENKIN, MONCRIEFFE, POTTS, WALKER, WHITE, BEATTY, BURTON, M'DONNEL, MILLS, PARKER, HIGLY, TALBOT, BYRN, EXSHAW, and WEBB.

M,DCC,LXXXI.

1851

ADVERTISEMENT,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE Philoſophical and political Hiſtory of the Eſtabliſhments and Commerce of the Europeans, in both the Indies, by the Abbé RAYNAL, is certainly one of the fineſt works which have appeared ſince the revival of letters; and perhaps the moſt inſtructive of any which have been known. It is an original as to its formation; and ought to ſerve henceforward for a model. An additional part to this work, diſcuſſing the diſputes of Great Britain with her Colonies, has been long and ardently ex-

pected. In the courſe of his travels, the tranſlator happily ſucceeded in obtaining a copy of this exquiſite little piece, which has not yet made its appearance from any preſs. He publiſhes a French edition, in favour of thoſe who will feel its eloquent reaſoning more forcibly in its native language, at the ſame time with the following tranſlation of it; in which he has been deſirous, perhaps in vain, that all the warmth, the grace, the ſtrength, the dignity of the original, ſhould not be loſt. And he flatters himſelf, that the indulgence of the illuſtrious hiſtorian will not be wanting to a man, who

who of his own motion, has taken the liberty to give this compoſition to the public, only from a ſtrong perſuaſion, that its momentous argument will be uſeful, in a critical conjuncture, to that country which he loves with an ardour, that can be exceeded only by the nobler flame, which burns in the boſom of the philanthropic author, for the freedom and happineſs of all the countries upon earth.

It may not, perhaps, be quite needleſs to obſerve, though it ought to be underſtood, that the valuation of ſums, made in the original in foreign money, is, in the tranſlation made in ſterling.

The abundant good ſenſe, the political ſagacity, and even the ſalutary ſarcaſm, to be found, amidſt the effuſions of benevolence, in this hiſtorical tract, could never, it is apprehended, be more opportunely laid before thoſe whom it may concern, than now. It now ſeems to be the general and anxious expectation, that, before the riſing of Parliament from its preſent ſeſſion, ſome proper and efficacious ſteps will at laſt, at this high time, be thought of, towards cloſing the unnatural, the ſhameful, and diſtreſsful breach, between the mother-country and her colonies; a breach in which, as it is obſerved, with great

great truth, by the author of a Plan of Accommodation*, founded in juſtice and liberality, "The peo-"ple on both ſides are robbed of "their trueſt intereſt, and made to "ſacrifice their mutual happineſs, "to gain nothing but contempt "and miſery."

Let not wiſdom utter her voice in the ſtreets, and no man regard her.

* Printed in 1780.

The

The Tranſlator cannot help moſt ſolicitouſly wiſhing that ſome of his fellow-ſubjects, of the Britiſh dominions, may enter the liſts for the prize propoſed in the following Advertiſement from the Academy of Lyons, in the hope that he ſhall have the happineſs to ſee it borne from the reſt of the lettered world, by a hero of that people, who have been dear, tam Marti quàm Mercurio, who are diſtinguiſhed for their eloquence, and who, he truſts, when fraternal feuds ſhall be reconciled, will vindicate their ſuperiority in arms. He humbly offers his ſervice to any candidate for this prize, productive

tive of ſo great celebrity, who may not know the ready means of doing it himſelf, to get his performance conveyed to Lyons, free of poſtage, provided that it be left with his Bookſeller, Mr. Lockyer Davis, before the firſt of December, 1782.

London, March 5, 1781.

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ADVERTISEMENT

FROM

THE ACADEMY

OF SCIENCES, POLITE LITERATURE, AND ARTS,

AT LYONS.

THE ABBE' RAYNAL, after having inſtructed mankind by his writings, would ſtill contribute to the improvement of their knowledge, by exciting emulation. An Aſſociate in the labours of the Academy of Lyons, he propoſed to it to give out two ſubjects for prizes, of which he has conſtituted the fund, to be diſtributed by the Academy, to the authors

authors whom it ſhall judge to have beſt anſwered the views of the propounded queſtions.

The Academy accepted of the offer with gratitude, and publiſhes the ſubjects without delay.

The firſt ſubject propoſed for the year 1782, *relating excluſively to the manufactures and proſperity of the city of Lyons is omitted here, as, however judicious and patriotic in the founder of the prize, it is an object only of particular concern, and, conſequently, not intereſting, like the ſecond, to the world at large.*

FOR

FOR THE YEAR 1783.

THE ACADEMY propoſes the following ſubject.

Has the diſcovery of America been uſeful or hurtful to mankind?

If advantages have reſulted from it, what are the means to preſerve and increaſe them?

If diſadvantages, what are the means to remedy them?

The prize conſiſts of the ſum of fifty *Louis d'or*, which will be remitted to the ſucceſsful author, or his aſſigns.

CONDITIONS.

Any perſon of any nation may be a competitor for this prize, except titulary and veteran academicians. The aſſociates of academies will be admitted.

The

The authors muſt not let themſelves be known, directly or indirectly; they will put ſome line, or motto, at the head of their performance, which will be accompanied by a note ſealed up, containing the ſame line or motto, with their names and places of abode.

The Academy conſidering the importance of the ſubject, ſets no limits to the length of the compoſition, but only wiſhes the author to write in French or Latin.

No work can be admitted after the firſt of February, 1783. The Academy will proclaim the prize the ſame year, in its public aſſembly, after St. Lewis's day, or the 25th of Auguſt.

The packets are to be ſent to Lyons, free of poſtage, directed to

M. La

M. La Tourrette, *Secretaire perpétuel pour la Claſſe des Sciences, Rue Boiſſac*; or to

M. de Bory, *Secretaire perpétuel pour la claſſe des Belles-Lettres, Rue Boiſſac*; or to

M. Aimé de la Roche, *Imprimeur-Libraire de l'Académie, maiſon des halles de la Grenette.*

Signed,

La Tourrette,
Perpetual Secretary.

Lyons, Sept. 5, 1780.

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THE

THE REVOLUTION OF AMERICA.

[*Diſtreſſed State of England in* 1763.]

ENGLAND was juſt diſengaged from a long and bloody war, in which her fleets had diſplayed the banner of victory in all ſeas; in which a dominion, already too vaſt, was augmented by an immenſe acceſſion of territory in both the Indies. This ſplendid face of things might have an impoſing air abroad; but the nation was reduced within to groan for its acquiſitions and its triumphs. Over-

whelmed with a debt of £148,000,000, which coſt her an intereſt of £4,959,000, ſhe was ſcarcely ſufficient to the moſt neceſſary expences with the five millions eight hundred thouſand pounds which remained to her of her revenue; and this revenue, ſo far from being capable of increaſe, had no certain and aſſured conſiſtency.

Land remained loaded with a higher tax than it ever had been in time of peace. New taxes had been laid on windows and on houſes. Theſe acts laid a heavy charge on all real eſtate. Wine, plate, cards, dice, all that was regarded as an object of luxury, or amuſement, paid more than could have been thought poſſible. To reimburſe itſelf for the ſacrifice made to the preſervation of the public health, in the prohibition of ſpirituous liquors, the treaſury had recourſe to malt, beer, cyder,

der, and all the uſual beverages of the people. The ſea-ports diſpatched nothing to foreign countries, and received nothing from them, but what was burthened cruelly with duties, on the import and the export. Raw materials and workmanſhip were riſen to ſo high a price in Great Britain, that her merchants found themſelves ſupplanted in countries where they had never before experienced a competition. The profits of her commerce, with all parts of the globe, amounted not annually to above two millions and a half; and, from this balance in her favour, there muſt have been deducted a million and a half, paid in intereſt to foreigners, on their capitals placed in her public funds.

The ſprings of the ſtate were ſtrained. All the muſcles of the body-politic, experiencing at once a violent tenſion,

were in ſome ſort diſplaced. It was a critical moment. It was neceſſary to let the people breathe. They could not be relieved by a diminution of expence. That of the government was neceſſary, either to give value to conqueſts bought at the price of ſo much treaſure, at the price of ſo much blood; or to reſtrain the houſe of Bourbon, angered by the humiliations of the laſt war, and by the ſacrifices of the laſt peace. In default of other means, to fix both the ſecurity of the preſent, and the proſperity of the future, an idea was formed of calling the colonies to the aid of the mother-country. This view was wiſe and juſt.

[*England calls the colonies to her aid.*]

The members of a confederacy ought all, in proportion to the extent of their powers, to contribute to its defence and

and to its ſplendour, ſince it is by the public power alone that each claſs can preſerve the intire and peaceable enjoyment of its poſſeſſions. The indigent man has, without doubt, leſs intereſt in it than the rich; but he has the intereſt of his quiet in the firſt inſtance, and in the next, that of the preſervation of the public wealth, which he is called upon to partake of by his induſtry. There is no principle of ſociety more evident; and yet no fault in politics more common than its infraction. Whence can ariſe this perpetual contradiction between the knowledge and the conduct of thoſe who govern? From the vice of the legiſlative power, which exaggerates the maintenance of the public power, and uſurps, for its fancies, a part of the funds deſtined to this maintenance. The gold of the trader, and of the huſbandman, with the ſubſiſtence of the poor, torn

from them, in the name of the ſtate, in their fields and their habitations, and proſtituted in courts to intereſt and to vice, goes to ſwell the pomp of a ſet of men who flatter, hate, and corrupt their maſter; goes ultimately into ſtill viler hands, to pay the ſcandal and the ignominy of their pleaſures. It is prodigally ſquandered in a faſtuous ſhew of grandeur, the vain decoration of thoſe who cannot attain to real grandeur, and in feſtivities and entertainments, the reſource of impotent idleneſs, in the midſt of the cares and labours which the right government of an empire would demand. A portion of it, it is true, is given to the public wants; but inattention, and incapacity, apply it without judgment, as without œconomy. Authority deceived, and which will not condeſcend even to make an effort at being undeceived, ſuffers an unjuſt diſtribution in the taxes, and a manner of gathering

gathering them which is itſelf but an oppreſſion more. Then is every patriotic ſentiment extinguiſhed. A war is eſtabliſhed between the prince and ſubjects. They who raiſe the revenues of the ſtate appear to be no other than the enemies of the citizen. He defends his fortune from taxation as he would defend it from invaſion. Whatever cunning can purloin from power ſeems lawful gain; and the ſubjects, corrupted by the government, make repriſals on the maſter by whom they are pillaged. They perceive not, that in this unequal combat, they are themſelves dupes and victims. The inſatiable and ardent treaſury, leſs ſatisfied with what is given, than irritated by what has been refuſed, reaches eagerly, with a hundred hands, after what one alone has dared to divert from its gripe. It joins the activity of power to that of intereſt. Vexations are multiplied, under the ſpe-

cious name of chaſtiſement and juſtice; and the monſter who beggars all thoſe whom he torments, thanks heaven devoutly for the number of the criminals who have been puniſhed by him, and of the crimes by which he is enriched. Happy the ſovereign who ſhould not diſdain, for the prevention of ſo may abuſes, to render to his ſubjects a faithful account of the employment of the ſums he might exact! But this ſovereign has not yet appeared; and, without doubt, he never will appear. The debt, however, of the protected people, towards the protector-ſtate, is not a leſs neceſſary and ſacred tie; and no nation has diſowned it. The Engliſh colonies in North America had not given an example of it; and never had the Britiſh miniſtry recourſe to them without obtaining the ſuccour it ſolicited.

But

But this ſuccour was granted in gifts, and not in taxes; ſince the conceſſion of it was preceded by free and public deliberations in the aſſemblies of each eſtabliſhment. The mother-country had found herſelf engaged in expenſive and cruel wars. Tumultuous and enterprizing parliaments had diſturbed her tranquillity. She had fallen into the hands of miniſters corrupt and bold; unhappily diſpoſed to raiſe the authority of the throne upon the ruin of all the rights, and all the powers of the people. And even revolutions had taken place, before an attack upon a cuſtom, ſtabliſhed and ſtrengthened by the happy experience of two ages, had ever once been dreamed of.

The colonies in the new world had been accuſtomed to regard this mode of furniſhing their contingent, in men and money, as a right. Had this pretenſion,

been doubtful, or erroneous, prudence would have forbidden its being too openly attacked. The art of maintaining authority is a delicate art, which requires more circumſpection than is generally thought. They who govern are perhaps too much accuſtomed to hold them in contempt. They regard them too much as ſlaves, ſubdued and bent down by nature, whilſt they are only ſo from habit. If you lay on them a new load, take care leſt they ſhake it off with fury and with intereſt. Forget not that the lever of power has no other fulcrum than opinion; that the power of thoſe who govern is in reality but the power of thoſe who ſuffer government. Remind not people attentively occupied by their labours, or ſleeping in their chains, lift up their eyes to truths too terrible for you; and whilſt they are obeying, bring not to their remembrance their right to command. When the moment of this

fearful

fearful rouſing ſhall arrive; when they ſhall have thought in earneſt that they are not made for their magiſtrates, but that their magiſtrates are made for them; when they ſhall once have been able to bring themſelves together, to feel the communication of kindred minds, and to pronounce with a voice unanimous; *We will not have this law*; *this practice is offenſive*; medium is no more; you will be conſtrained, by an unavoidable alternative, either to puniſh or to yield; either to be tyrannical or weak; and your authority henceforth deteſted or deſpiſed, whichever part it take, will have to chuſe from the people but their open inſolence, or their hidden hate.

The firſt duty, therefore, of a wiſe adminiſtration, is to manage the prevailing opinions in any country: for opinion is the property moſt dear to man, dearer even than his life, and conſequently

ſequently much dearer than his wealth. A wiſe adminiſtration, may without doubt, endeavour to rectify opinions by information, or to alter them by perſuaſion, if they tend to the diminution of the public power. But it is not permitted to thwart them without neceſſity; and there never was any neceſſity for rejecting the ſyſtem adopted by North America.

In effect, whether the different ſettlements in this new world had been authorized, as they wiſhed, to ſend repreſentatives to parliament, where they might have deliberated with their fellow-citizens on the neceſſities of the Britiſh empire at large; or, whether they had continued to examine within themſelves what ſhould be the contribution which it was right for them to make, no inconvenience could have reſulted from it to the treaſury. In one

caſe,

caſe, the voice of their delegated claimants would have been drowned in that of the majority; and theſe provinces would have found themſelves legally loaded with ſuch a portion of the burden as it ſhould be wiſhed to make them bear. In the other, the miniſtry, continuing to diſpoſe of the dignities, the employments, the penſions, and even of the elections, would have experienced no more reſiſtance to its will in that hemiſphere than in this.

But the maxims conſecrated by cuſtom in America were not founded in prejudice alone. The pretenſions of the coloniſts reſted on the nature of their charters, and on the ſtill more ſolid baſis of that right of every Engliſh ſubject not to be taxed without conſent, expreſſed by himſelf or his repreſentative. This right, which ought to be that of every people, ſince it is

founded on the eternal law of reaſon, originated ſo far back as in the reign of the firſt Edward. From that epoch the Engliſhman has never loſt ſight of it. In peace, in war, under weak or wicked kings, in ſlaviſh or tumultuous times, it has been his unremitted claim. Under the Tudors, this Engliſhman has been ſeen to give up ſome of his moſt precious privileges, and, unreſiſtingly, to ſubmit his neck to the axe of tyrants; but never to renounce the right of ſelf-taxation. It was in the defence of it that he has ſhed rivers of blood, that he has puniſhed or dethroned his kings. In ſhort, at the revolution in 1688, this right was ſolemnly acknowledged, by the celebrated act, in which liberty was ſeen to trace, with the ſame hand with which it had driven out the royal deſpot, the conditions of the contract between a nation and the ſovereign it had newly choſen. This prerogative of a people, much more

ſacred,

ſacred, without all queſtion, than ſo many imaginary rights which ſuperſtition would ſanctify in tyrants, was, with regard to England, at once both the inſtrument and the rampart of her liberty. She thought, ſhe felt, that it was the only barrier which could for ever limit deſpotiſm; that the moment which ſtrips a people of this privilege, condemns it to oppreſſion; and that the funds, raiſed in appearance for its ſecurity, are ſooner or later ſubſervient to its ruin. The Engliſhman, in founding his colony, had carried with him theſe principles beyond the ſeas; and the ſame ideas had been tranſmitted to his progeny.

Ah! if in the countries even of Europe, in which ſlavery ſeems long ſince to have taken its ſeat in the midſt of vices, of riches, and of arts; in which the depotiſm of armies ſupports the deſpotiſm of courts; in which man, chained from

from his cradle, and bound tightly by all the cords both of policy and ſuperſtition, has never breathed the air of liberty; if in theſe countries, notwithſtanding, they who have once in their lives reflected on the fate of nations, cannot forbear adopting the maxims, and envying the happineſs of the people who knew how to make it the ground-work and foundation of their conſtitution; how much more ought the Engliſh natives of America to be attached to the glorious birth-right they inherit! They know the price at which their anceſtors had bought it. The very ſoil which they inhabit muſt produce in them a ſentiment favourable to theſe ideas. Diſperſed throughout an immenſe continent; free as the wild nature which ſurrounds them, amidſt their rocks, their mountains, the vaſt plains of their deſerts, on the confines of thoſe foreſts in which all is ſtill in its ſavage ſtate, and where there are no traces of either the

ſlavery

ſlavery or the tyranny of man, they ſeem to receive from every natural object a leſſon of liberty and independence. Beſides, theſe people, given up almoſt all of them to agriculture and to commerce, to uſeful labours which elevate and fortify the ſoul in inſpiring ſimple manners, hitherto as far removed from riches as from poverty, cannot be yet corrupted either by the exceſs of luxury, or by the exceſs of want. It is in this ſtate above all others, that the man who enjoys liberty is moſt capable to maintain it, and to ſhew himſelf jealous in the defence of an hereditary right, which ſeems to be the moſt certain ſecurity for all the reſt. Such was the reſolution of the Americans.

[*England* exacts *from her colonies what ſhe ſhould but have* requeſted.]

Whether the Britiſh miniſtry were ignorant of theſe diſpoſitions, or whether they

they hoped that their delegates would ſucceed in changing them, they laid hold of the moment of a glorious peace for exacting a forced contribution from the colonies. For war, and let it be well remarked, war, whether unfortunate or ſucceſsful, ſerves always as a pretext for the uſurpations of governments; as if the directors of the warring powers propoſed to themſelves by it leſs to vanquiſh their enemies than to enſlave their ſubjects. The year 1764 ſaw the birth of the famous ſtamp-act, which forbid the admiſſion in the courts of juſtice of any inſtrument which ſhould not be written on paper marked and ſold for the profit of the Britiſh treaſury.

The Engliſh provinces of North America become indignant at this uſurpation of their moſt precious and moſt ſacred rights. By an unanimous agreement they renounce the conſumption of whatever

was

was furniſhed them by the mother-country, till it ſhould have withdrawn this illegal and oppreſſive bill. Even the women, whoſe weakneſs might have been feared, are the moſt ardent, ſacrificing the ſubſerviencies to their dreſs and ornament; and the men, animated by this example, give up on their part other conveniencies and enjoyments. Many cultivators of land quit the plough, to form themſelves to the induſtry of the workſhop; and wool, flax, and cotton, coarſely wrought, are ſold at the price which would before have purchaſed the fineſt cloths and the moſt beautiful ſtuffs.

This kind of conſpiracy ſtuns the government. By the clamour of the merchants, whoſe wares are without vent, its inquietude is encreaſed. The enemies of the miniſtry uphold theſe diſcontents; and the ſtamp-act is revoked after two years

years of a convulſive agitation, which in other times would have lighted up a civil war.

But the triumph of the Colonies is of ſhort duration. The parliament which had retreated but with extreme repugnance, ordains, in 1767, that the revenue which could not be obtained by means of ſtamps ſhould be raiſed by taxes on the glaſs, the lead, the paſte-board, the colours, the paper-hangings, and the tea, which are carried from England to America. The people of the Northern continent are not leſs revolted at this innovation than at the former. In vain are they told that no one could diſpute the right of Great Britain to lay on her exportations the duties which her intereſt demands, ſince ſhe denies not to her Colonies, ſituated beyond the ſeas, the liberty of fabricating themſelves the wares ſubjected to the new taxation. This ſubterfuge appears

appears but as a deriſion to men, who, being cultivators of land alone, and reduced to the having no communication but with their mother-country, cannot procure, either by their own induſtry, or by foreign connections, the objects which had recently been taxed. Whether this tribute be paid in the old or new world, they perceive that the word makes no alteration in the thing, and that their liberty would not be leſs attacked by this mode, than by that which had been repelled by them with ſucceſs. The coloniſts ſee clearly that the government would beguile them; and they will not be beguiled. Theſe political ſophiſms appear to them as they are, the maſk of tyranny.

Nations in general are made more for feeling than for thinking. The greateſt part of them never had an idea of analyſing the nature of the power by which they

they are governed. They obey without reflection, and becauſe they have the habit of obeying. The origin and the object of the firſt national aſſociations being unknown to them, all reſiſtance to government appears to them a crime. It is chiefly in thoſe ſtates where the principles of legiſlation are confounded with thoſe of religion, that this blindneſs is to be met with. The habit of believing favours the habit of ſuffering. Man renounces not any one object with impunity. It ſeems as if nature would revenge herſelf upon him who dares thus to degrade her. The ſervile diſpoſition which ſhe ſtamps upon his ſoul in conſequence, extends itſelf throughout. It makes a duty of reſignation as of meanneſs; and kiſſing chains of all kinds with reſpect, trembles to examine either its doctrines or its laws. In the ſame manner that a ſingle extravagance in religious opinions is ſufficient to make many more

more to be adopted by minds once deceived, a firſt uſurpation of government opens the door to all the reſt. He who believes the greater, believes the leſs; he who can do the greater, can do the leſs. It is by this double abuſe of credulity and authority that all the abſurdities in matters of religion and of policy have been introduced into the world for the haraſſing and the cruſhing of the human race. Thus at the firſt ſignal of liberty amongſt nations, they have been prompted to ſhake off both theſe yokes together; and the epoch in which the human mind began to diſcuſs the abuſes of the church and clergy, is that in which reaſon perceived at laſt the rights of men; and in which courage attempted to ſet the firſt limits to deſpotic power. The principles of toleration and of liberty, eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh colonies, had made them a different people from all others. There it was known what was

the

the dignity of man; and when the Britiſh miniſtry violated it, it could not be otherwiſe but that a people all compoſed of denizens, ſhould riſe againſt the wickedneſs of the attempt.

Three years elapſed, without a revenue from any one of the taxes which had ſo wounded the Americans to the quick. This was ſomething; but it was not all to which men jealous of their prerogatives had pretenſions. They inſiſted upon a general and formal renunciation of what had been ſo illegally ordained; and this ſatisfaction was given them in 1770. Tea only was excepted. But the object of this exception was only to palliate the ſhame of entirely giving up the ſuperiority of the mother-country over her colonies: for this duty was not more cogently exacted than the others had been.

[*After*

[*After having given way, England would be obeyed by her colonies. Meaſures which they take to reſiſt her.*]

The miniſtry deceived by their delegates, believed undoubtedly that the diſpoſition of the new-world was altered, when, in 1773, they ordered the collection of the duty upon tea.

At this news the indignation becomes general in North America. In ſome provinces, formal thanks are agreed upon to be rendered to the maſters of veſſels who would not ſuffer this production to make any part of their cargo. In others, the merchants to whom it is conſigned will not receive it. Here, he is declared an enemy of his country who ſhall dare to vend it. There, they are ſtigmatized with the ſame reproach who ſhall keep it in their ſtores. Many provinces ſolemnly renounce the uſe of this

elegant refreſhment. A ſtill greater number burn what they had remaining of this leaf, till then the object of their delight. The tea ſent to this part of the globe was valued at more than two hundred thouſand pounds; and not a ſingle cheſt of it was landed. Boſton was the principal theatre of this inſurrection. Its inhabitants deſtroyed, in their very port, three cargoes of tea which arrived from Europe.

This great town had always appeared more occupied by a ſenſe of its rights than the reſt of America. The leaſt attempt that was made upon their privileges had been repelled without ſcruple and without reſerve. This reſiſtance, ſometimes not unaccompanied by tumult, had for ſome years been tireſome to government. The miniſtry, who had a vengeance to wreak, ſeized too eagerly upon the circumſtance of a blameable exceſs; and required

quired the parliament to puniſh it ſeverely.

Moderate men wiſhed that the offending town might be ſentenced only to an indemnification proportioned to the waſte that had been made in its road, and to ſuch amends as it ought to make for not having puniſhed this act of violence. This ſentence was thought too ſlight; on the 13th of March, 1774, a bill was paſſed for ſhutting up the port of Boſton, and forbidding any thing to be landed or loaded at it.

The court of London applauded itſelf for ſo rigorous a law, and doubted not but that it would bring the Boſtonians to that diſpoſition to ſlavery which it had vainly laboured till then to give them. If, contrary to all appearance, theſe ſturdy men ſhould perſevere in their pretenſions, their neighbours would

be ardent in profiting from the interdiction laid upon the principal harbour of the province. Suppoſing the worſe, the other colonies, long ſince jealous of that of Maſſachuſet, would abandon it with indifference to its melancholy fate, and gather up the immenſe trade which would flow in to them on the tide of its misfortunes. By theſe means would be broken the union of theſe different eſtabliſhments, which had for ſome years paſt acquired a greater degree of conſiſtency than was pleaſing to the mother-country.

The expectation of the miniſtry was totally deceived. An act of rigour ſometimes over-awes. The people who have murmured as long as the thunder-ſtorm growled only at a diſtance, when it comes to burſt upon them frequently ſubmit. It is then that they weigh the advantages and diſadvantages of reſiſtance; that they

they contemplate their own ſtrength and that of their oppreſſors; that a panic terror ſeizes thoſe who have every thing to loſe, without any thing to gain; that they lift up their voice, that they intimidate, that they corrupt; that diviſion ariſes in the minds of men, and that the community is ſeparated into two factions, which irritate each other, which come oftentimes to blows, and cut each other's throats under the eyes of their tyrants, who with ſweet complacency behold their ſtreaming blood. But tyrants ſeldom find accomplices but amongſt a people already corrupted to their hands. It is vice which gives them allies amongſt thoſe whom they oppreſs. It is unmanly ſoftneſs, which, filled with terrors, dares not barter its repoſe for honourable peril. It is the vile ambition to command, which lends its arm to deſpotic power, and conſents to be a ſlave in order to domineer; to give up a

people in order to partake their ſpoil; and to renounce real honour for the obtaining of titles, the nick-names of honour. It is, above all, the indifferent and cold perſonality, which is the laſt vice amongſt a people, the laſt crime of governments, for it is ever the government which gives it birth; it is that, which from principle ſacrifices a nation to a man, and the happineſs of an age and of poſterity to the enjoyment of a day and of a moment. None of theſe vices, the production of a ſociety opulent and voluptuous, of a ſociety grown old and verging to its end, belong to a people newly eſtabliſhed and occupied in uſeful labours. The Americans remained united. The execution of a bill, which they called inhuman, barbarous, and bloody, tended but to ſtrengthen them in the reſolution of maintaining their rights with the more accord and conſtancy.

At

At Boſton, the acrid and ardent ſpirit is more and more exalted. The cry of religion adds force to that of liberty. The houſes of worſhip re-echo with the moſt violent exhortations againſt England. It was without doubt an intereſting ſpectacle for philoſophy, to ſee that even in temples, at the foot of altars, where ſuperſtition has ſo often bleſſed the chains of nations, where prieſts have ſo often flattered tyrants, liberty lifted up her voice in defence of the privileges of an oppreſſed people; and if it can be thought that the Deity vouchſafes to look down upon the unhappy feuds of men, it was better pleaſed undoubtedly to ſee its ſanctuary conſecrated to this uſe, and hymns to liberty make a part of the worſhip by which it was addreſſed. Theſe exhortations of the preachers muſt have had a great effect; and when a free people invokes heaven againſt oppreſſion,

it delays not long to have recourſe to arms.

The other inhabitants of the province of Maſſachuſet diſdain even the idea of drawing the leaſt advantage from the diſaſters of the capital. They think but of drawing cloſer the bonds which unite them with the Boſtonians, diſpoſed rather to ſeek a grave in the ruins of their common country, than to let the leaſt aſſault be made on rights which they had learned to prize more highly than their lives.

All the provinces attach themſelves to the cauſe of Boſton; and their affection encreaſes in proportion to the ſufferings of this unhappy town. Nearly as culpable of a reſiſtance ſo ſeverely puniſhed, they are well aware that the mother-country but defers her vengeance againſt them; and that all the grace with

with which the moſt favoured can be flattered, is to be the laſt on which the hand of oppreſſion ſhall be doomed to fall.

Theſe diſpoſitions to a general inſurrection are augmented by the act againſt Boſton, which is ſeen circulating throughout the continent upon paper edged with black, emblematical of mourning for liberty departed. Soon the diſquietude communicates itſelf from houſe to houſe. The inhabitants aſſemble and converſe together in the public places: and writings, full of eloquence and vigour, are delivered every where from the preſs.

"The ſeverities of the Britiſh Par-
"liament againſt Boſton (ſay they in
"theſe writings) ſhould cauſe all the
"American provinces to tremble. They

 "have

" have now nothing left them but to
" chuſe between fire and ſword and
" the horrors of death, or the yoke of
" paſſive, ſlaviſh obedience. Behold
" the æra of an important revolution
" is at length arrived, the event of
" which, as it ſhall be happy or ſuc-
" ceſsleſs, will claim and fix for ever
" either the regret or the admiration of
" poſterity.

" Shall we be freemen, or be ſlaves?
" On the ſolution of this grand prob-
" lem is about to depend, for the pre-
" ſent, the fate of three millions of
" men, and, for the future, the happi-
" neſs or miſery of their numberleſs de-
" ſcendants.

" Awake then, rouſe then, O Ame-
" ricans! Never did clouds ſo black
" hang over the region you inhabit. You
" are

" are called rebels, becauſe you will not
" be taxed but by your repreſentatives.
" Vindicate this juſt pretenſion by your
" courage, or ſeal the loſs of it with all
" your blood.

" Time for deliberation is no more.
" Whilſt the hand of the oppreſſor la-
" bours inceſſantly to forge your chains,
" ſilence would be guilt, inaction in-
" famy. Let the preſervation of the
" rights of the commonweal be your ſu-
" preme law. That man would be the
" laſt of ſlaves, who, in the danger into
" which the liberty of America is fallen
" would not exert every effort to pre-
" ſerve it."

This diſpoſition was the common one: but the important object, the difficult thing, in the midſt of a general tumult, was to contrive that a calm might be

be brought on, by favour of which might be formed a concert of wills, to give dignity, ſtrength, and conſiſtency to their reſolutions. It is this concert, which, of a multitude of ſcattered parts, and each eaſily to be broken, compoſes a whole that is not to be rendered tractable, unleſs it be to be divided by policy or by power. The neceſſity of this grand combination, or totality, is ſtrikingly perceived by the provinces of New Hampſhire, of Maſſachuſet, of Rhode-Iſland, of Connecticut, of New York, of New Jerſey, of the Delaware counties, of Maryland, of Pennſylvania, of Virginia, and of both the Carolinas. Theſe twelve colonies, which were afterwards joined by Georgia, ſent deputies to Philadelphia, in the month of September 1774, charged with the defence of their rights and intereſts.

The

The diſputes of the mother country with her colonies, aſſume at this period an importance to which they had not been before intitled. It is no longer a few individuals who make an obſtinate reſiſtance to imperious maſters. It is the ſtruggle of one body of men againſt another; of the Congreſs of America againſt the Parliament of England; of a nation againſt a nation. By the reſolutions taken on either ſide, minds mutually are heated. The ferment of animoſity increaſes. All hope of reconciliation vaniſhes. On each ſide the ſword is whetted. Great Britain ſends troops to the new world. This other hemiſphere prepares for its defence. Its citizens become ſoldiers. The combuſtibles are collected; the conflagration is about to blaze.

Gage, the commander of the royal troops, ſends from Boſton, in the night of

of the 18th of April, 1775, a detachment charged with the deſtruction of a magazine of arms, and other military ſtores, collected by the Americans, at Concord. This body of troops meet at Lexington with ſome militia, whom they diſperſe with little difficulty, continue their march rapidly, and execute the commiſſion to which they had been appointed. But ſcarcely are they on their return towards the capital but they find themſelves aſſailed, for the ſpace of fifteen miles, by a furious multitude, and death on each ſide is given and received. Engliſh blood, ſo often ſhed in Europe by Engliſh hands, irrigates America in its turn, and the civil war is embarked in.

On the ſame field of battle, the following months, more regular combats are beheld. Warren becomes one of the victims of theſe unnatural and murderous

ous actions. The Congreſs honour his aſhes.

" He is not dead, (ſaid the orator) this " excellent citizen ſhall never die. His " memory ſhall be for ever preſent, " and for ever dear, to all good men, " to all who love their country. In " the ſhort ſpace of a life but of three " and thirty years, he had diſplayed the " talents of a ſtateſman, the virtues of a " ſenator, the ſoul of a hero.

" Approach, all you whom the ſame " intereſt inſpirits; approach your coun- " tryman's ſtill bleeding body. Waſh " with your tears his honourable wounds. " But hang not too long over this ina- " nimated corſe. Return to your habi- " tations to fill them with deteſtation at " the crime of tyranny. Let your hor- " rible deſcriptions of it make each par- " ticular hair to ſtand on end upon your " chil-

" children's heads, inflame their eyes
" with noble rage, ſtamp menaces on
" their brows, and draw by their mouths,
" indignation from their hearts! Then,
" then, ſhall you give them arms; and
" your laſt, your fondeſt wiſh ſhall be,
" that they may return victorious, or
" may die like Warren."

The diſturbances by which the province of Maſſachuſet was agitated, were repeated in the other provinces. The ſcenes, indeed, were not bloody, becauſe there were no Britiſh troops; but the Americans ſeize every where on the forts, the arms, and the military ſtores; they every where expel their governors, and the other agents of England; and every where haraſs ſuch of the inhabitants as appeared favourable to its cauſe. Some enterprizing men have the ſpirit even to take poſſeſſion of the works formerly erected by the French upon the lake Cham-

Champlain, between New England and Canada, and to make an irruption into this vaſt region.

Whilſt ſimple individuals, or detached diſtricts are thus uſefully ſerving the common cauſe, the Congreſs is occupied with the care of aſſembling an army. The command of it is given to George Waſhington, a native of Virginia, and known by ſome happy exploits in preceding wars. Inſtantly the new general flies to the province of Maſſachuſet, drives the royal troops from poſt to poſt, and obliges them to ſhut themſelves up in Boſton. Six thouſand of theſe old ſoldiers, eſcaped from the ſword, from ſickneſs, from all the miſeries incident to their profeſſion, and preſſed by hunger, or by the enemy, embark the 24th of March, 1776, with a precipitation which partakes of flight. They go to ſeek an aſylum in Nova Scotia, which remained,

as

as well as Florida, faithful to its ancient maſters.

[*The colonies were in the right to ſeparate themſelves from their mother-country, independently of all diſcontent.*]

This ſucceſs was the firſt ſtep of Engliſh America towards the revolution. It was begun to be openly deſired. The principles which juſtified it were diſperſed on all ſides. Theſe principles, which were indebted for their birth to Europe, and particularly to England, had been tranſplanted in America by philoſophy. The knowledge, and the diſcoveries of the mother-country were turned againſt herſelf, and ſhe was told that,

Care muſt be taken not to confound together ſociety and government. That they

they may be known diſtinctly, their origin ſhould be conſidered.

Man, thrown, as it were, by chance upon this globe, ſurrounded by all the evils of nature; obliged continually to defend and protect his life againſt the ſtorms and tempeſts of the air, againſt the inundations of water, againſt the fire of volcanos, againſt the intemperature of frigid or torrid zones, againſt the ſterility of the earth, which refuſes him aliment, or its baneful fecundity, which makes poiſons ſpring up beneath his feet; in ſhort, againſt the claws and teeth of ſavage beaſts, who diſpute with him his habitation and his prey, and attacking his perſon, ſeem reſolved to render themſelves rulers of this globe, of which he thinks himſelf to be the maſter: man in this ſtate, alone and abandoned to himſelf, could do nothing for his preſervation. It was neceſſary, therefore,

fore, that he ſhould unite himſelf, and aſſociate with his like, in order to bring together their ſtrength and intelligence in common ſtock. It is by this union that he has triumphed over ſo many evils, that he has faſhioned this globe to his uſe, reſtrained the rivers, ſubjugated the ſeas, inſured his ſubſiſtence, conquered a part of the animals in obliging them to ſerve him, and driven others far from his empire, to the depths of deſarts or of woods, where their number diminiſhes from age to age. What a man alone would not have been able to effect, men have executed in concert; and all together they preſerve their work. Such is the origin, ſuch the advantage and the end of all ſociety.

Government owes its birth to the neceſſity of preventing and repreſſing the injuries which the aſſociated individuals had to fear from one another, it is the

ſentinel

ſentinel who watches, in order that the common labours may be not diſturbed.

Thus ſociety originates in the wants of men, government in their vices. Society tends always to good; government ought always to tend to the repreſſing of evil. Society is the firſt, it is in its origin independent and free; government was inſtituted for it, and is but its inſtrument. It is for one to command; it is for the other to obey. Society created the public power; government, which has received it from ſociety, ought to conſecrate it entirely to its uſe. In ſhort, ſociety is eſſentially good; government, as is well known, may be, and is but too often evil.

It has been ſaid that we were all born equal; that is not ſo: that we had all the ſame rights. I am ignorant of what are rights, where there is an inequality of

of talents, or of ſtrength, and no ſecurity nor ſanction: that nature offered to us all the ſame dwelling, and the ſame reſources; that is not ſo: that we were all endowed indifferently with the ſame means of defence; that is not ſo: and I know not in what ſenſe it can be true, that we all enjoy the ſame qualities of mind and body.

There is amongſt men an original inequality which nothing can remedy. It muſt laſt for ever; and all that can be obtained by the beſt legiſlation, is not to deſtroy it, but to prevent the abuſe of it.

But in making diſtinctions between her children like a ſtep-mother, in creating ſome children ſtrong and others weak, has not nature herſelf formed the germ or principle of tyranny? I do not think

think it can be denied; eſpecially if we look back to a time anterior to all legiſlation, a time in which man will be ſeen as paſſionate and as void of reaſon as a brute.

What then have founders of nations, what have legiſlators propoſed to themſelves? To obviate all the diſaſters ariſing from this germ when it is expanded, by a ſort of artificial equality, which might reduce all the members of a ſociety, without exception, under an impartial, ſole authority. It is a ſword which moves gently, equably, and indifferently, over every head: but this ſword was ideal. It was neceſſary that there ſhould be a hand, a corporeal being who ſhould hold it.

What has reſulted thence? Why, that the hiſtory of civilized man is but the hiſtory of his miſery. All the pages of it

it are ſtained with blood; ſome with the blood of the oppreſſors, the others with the blood of the oppreſſed.

In this point of view, man appears more wicked and more miſerable than a beaſt. Different ſpecies of beaſts ſubſiſt on different ſpecies. But ſocieties of men have never ceaſed to attack each other. Even in the ſame ſociety there is no condition but devours and is devoured, whatever may have been or are the forms of the government, or artificial equality, which have been oppoſed to the primitive and natural inequality.

But are theſe forms of government, ſuppoſing them made by the choice, and the free choice, of the firſt ſettlers in a country, and whatever ſanction they may have received, whether that of oaths, or of unanimous accord, or of their duration, are they obligatory upon their

their deſcendants? There is no ſuch thing: and it is impoſſible that you Engliſhmen, who have ſucceſſively undergone ſo many different revolutions in your political conſtitution, toſſed as you have been from monarchy to tyranny, from tyranny to ariſtocracy, from ariſtocracy to democracy, and from democracy to anarchy; it is impoſſible that you, without accuſing yourſelves of rebellion and of perjury, can think otherwiſe than I do.

We examine things with a philoſophic eye; and it is well known, that it is not the ſpeculations of philoſophers which bring on civil troubles. No ſubjects are more patient than we are. I proceed then in purſuit of my object, without any cauſe to fear that miſchief can follow from my reaſoning.

If the people are happy under their form of government, they will keep it. If they are unhappy, it will not be either your opinions or mine, it will be the impoſſibility of ſuffering more, and longer, which will determine them to change it; a ſalutary impulſe, which the oppreſſor will call revolt, though it be but the juſt exerciſe of a natural and unalienable right of the man who is oppreſſed, and even of the man who is not oppreſſed.

A man wills and chuſes for himſelf. He cannot, will not chuſe for another; and it would be a madneſs to will and to chuſe for him who is yet unborn, for him who will not yet exiſt for ages. There is no individual but who, diſcontented with the form of the government of his country, may go elſewhere to ſeek a better.

better. There is no ſociety but which has the ſame right to change, as their anceſtors had to adopt, their form of government. Upon this point, it is with ſocieties as if they were at the firſt moment of their civilization. Without which there would be a great evil; nay, the greateſt of evils would be without a remedy. Millions of men would be condemned to miſery without end. Conclude then with me,

That there is no form of government which has the prerogative to be immutable.

No political authority, which, created yeſterday, or a thouſand years ago, may not be abrogated in ten years' time or to-morrow.

No power, however reſpectable, how-

ever ſacred, that is authorized to regard the ſtate as its property.

Whoever thinks otherwiſe is a ſlave. It is to be an Idolater of the work of his own hands.

Whoever thinks otherwiſe, is a madman, who devotes himſelf to eternal miſery, who devotes to it his family, his children, and his childrens' children, in allowing to his anceſtors the right of ſtipulating for him when he exiſted not, and in arrogating to himſelf the right of ſtipulating for a progeny which does not yet exiſt.

All authority in this world has begun either by the conſent of the ſubjects, or by the power of the maſter. In both one and the other caſe, it may juſtly end. There

There is no preſcription in favour of tyranny againſt liberty.

The truth of theſe principles is ſo much the more eſſential, becauſe that all power by its very nature tends to deſpotiſm, even in the moſt jealous nations, even in yours, ye Engliſhmen, yes, in yours.

I have heard it ſaid by a whig, by a fanatic, if you will; but words of great ſenſe eſcape ſometimes from a madman; I have heard it ſaid by him, that ſo long as the power ſhould be wanting of taking to Tyburn a bad king, or at leaſt a bad miniſter, with as little formality, preparation, tumult, or ſurprize, as the obſcureſt malefactor is conducted thither, the nation would not have either that juſt idea, or that full enjoyment, of their rights, which became a people

who dared to think or to ſay that they were free; and yet an adminiſtration, by your own acknowledgment, ignorant, corrupted, and audacious, precipitates you with imperiouſneſs and with impunity, into the moſt profound abyſs!

The quantity of your circulating caſh is inconſiderable. You are overwhelmed with paper; which you have under all ſorts of denominations. Were all the gold of Europe collected in your treaſury, it would ſcarcely pay the nation's debt. We know not by what incredible illuſion this fictitious money is kept up. The moſt frivolous event might in the courſe of a day throw it into diſcredit. There is need but of an alarm to bring on a ſudden bankruptcy. The dreadful conſequences which would follow this failure of faith, are beyond our imagination. And, behold, ſuch is the

inſtant

inſtant marked out for you to make you declare againſt your colonies, that is, to make you raiſe up againſt yourſelves, an unjuſt, mad, ruinous war. What will become of you, when an important branch of your commerce ſhall be deſtroyed; when you ſhall have but a third of your poſſeſſions; when you ſhall have maſſacred a million or two of your countrymen; when your force ſhall be exhauſted, your traders ruined, your manufacturers reduced to ſtarve; when your debt ſhall be augmented, and your revenue decreaſed! Look well to it; the blood of the Americans will ſooner or later fall heavy on your heads. Its effuſion will be revenged by your own hands; and you are arriving at the point.

But, ſay you, *theſe people are rebels*——Rebels! And why? becauſe they will not be your ſlaves. A people ſubjected to the will of another people,

who can diſpoſe as they chuſe of their government, of their laws, and of their trade; tax them at their pleaſure; ſet bounds to their induſtry, and enchain it by arbitrary prohibitions, are bond-ſervants, yes, certainly are bond-ſervants; and their ſervitude is worſe than what they would undergo if governed by a tyrant. Deliverance from the oppreſſion of a tyrant is effected by his expulſion, or his death. You have delivered yourſelves by each of theſe methods. But a nation is not to be put to death, is not to be expelled. Liberty is only to be expected from a rupture, which by its conſequences involves one of the nations, and ſometimes both of them, in ruin. A tyrant is a monſter with a ſingle head, which may be ſtruck off at a ſingle blow. A tyrannic nation is an hydra with a thouſand heads, for the cutting off of which a thouſand

ſwords

ſwords muſt be lifted up together. The crime of oppreſſion committed by a tyrant collects all the indignation upon him alone. The commiſſion of the ſame crime by a numerous ſociety, ſcatters the horrour and the ſhame of it upon a multitude, which never bluſhes. It is every body's fault and nobody's; and the reſentment of injury wanders wildly in deſpair, without knowing where to fix, or whither it is carried.

But they are our ſubjects———Your ſubjects! no more than the inhabitants of Wales are ſubjects to thoſe of Lancaſhire. The authority of one nation over another cannot be founded but upon conqueſt, upon general conſent, or upon conditions propoſed on one part, and accepted on the other. Conqueſt binds no more than theft: the

conſent of anceſtors cannot be obligatory upon deſcendents: and there can be no condition which muſt not be underſtood to be excluſive of the ſacrifice of liberty. Liberty is not to be bartered for any thing, becauſe there is not any thing which is of a comparable price. Such have been the diſcourſes held by you to your tyrants, ſuch hold we to you for your coloniſts.

The earth which they occupy is our's— Your's! it is thus you call it becauſe you uſurped it. But be it ſo. Does not the charter of conceſſion oblige you to treat the Americans as countrymen? Do you do ſo? But we are well employed here truly in talking of conceſſions by charters, by which men grant what they are not maſters of, what conſequently they have not the right to

grant

grant to a handful of weak people, forced by circumſtances to receive as a gratification that which belongs to them of natural right. And then, have the deſcendants who are now living been called to a compact ſigned by their anceſtors? Either confeſs the truth of this principle, or recall the deſcendants of James. What right had you to drive him away which we have not to ſeparate ourſelves from you? ſay the Americans to you: and what have you to ſay in anſwer?

They are ungrateful, we are their founders; we have been their defenders; we have run in debt upon their account——Say, as much or more upon your own than theirs. If you have undertaken their defence, it was as you would have undertaken that of the Sultan of Conſtantinople, had your ambition

tion or your intereſt required it. But have they not requited you, in deliver-ing up to you their productions; in receiving your merchandize excluſively at the exorbitant price you would pleaſe to put upon it; in ſujecting themſelves to prohibitions which cramped their in-duſtry, and to reſtrictions by which you have oppreſſed their poverty? Have they not helped you? Have they not run in debt upon your account? Have they not taken arms and fought for you? When you have made your requeſts to them, which is the proper way of dealing with freemen, have they not complied with them? When did you ever experience a refuſal from them, but when you clapped a bayonet to their breaſt, and ſaid, *Your money or life, die or be ſlaves?* What! becauſe you have been beneficent, have you a right

to

to be oppreſſive? What! and ſhall nations too build on gratitude the barbarous claim, to debaſe, and trample under foot, thoſe who have had the misfortune to receive their favours? Ah! individuals perhaps, though it is by no means a duty, individuals may, perhaps, in a benefactor tolerate a tyrant. In them, it is great, it is magnanimous, undoubtedly, to conſent to be wretched, that they may not be ungrateful. But nations have a different morality. The public happineſs is the firſt law, as the firſt duty. The firſt obligation of theſe great bodies is with themſelves. They owe, before all other things, liberty and juſtice to the members which compoſe them. Every child which is born to the ſtate, every new citizen who comes to breathe the air of the country he has choſen, or nature given

given him, is intitled to the greateſt happineſs he can enjoy. Every obligation which cannot be reconciled with that, is broken. Every contrary claim, is a wicked attempt upon his rights. And what is it to him, that his anceſtors have been relieved, if he is deſtined to be himſelf oppreſſed? With what right can be exacted from him the payment of his uſurious debt of benefits, which he has never felt? No, no. The wiſhing to arm one's ſelf with ſuch a claim, againſt a whole nation, and its poſterity, is to overthrow all the ideas of policy and order, and, whilſt one invokes the name of morality, to betray all its laws. What have you not done for Hanover? Do you command at Hanover? All the republics of Greece were bound together by mutual ſervices; but did any one exact, as a mark of gratitude, the right of diſpoſing of the government of the ſuccoured ſtate?

Our

Our honour is engaged——Say, that of your bad miniſters, and not your's. In what conſiſts the true honour of him who has been miſtaken? is it to perſiſt in his error, or to acknowledge it? Has he who returns to a ſenſe of juſtice, any cauſe to bluſh? Engliſhmen, you have been too haſty. Why did you not wait, till the Americans had been corrupted, as you are, by riches? Then, they would have thought no more highly of their liberty, than you do of your own. Then it would have been needleſs to take arms, againſt men ſubdued by opulence. But what inſtant have you choſen for attacking them? That in which what they had to loſe, their liberty, could not be balanced by what they had to keep.

But later they would be more numerous——I agree, they would. What then have

have you attempted? the enſlaving a people who ſhall be unfettered in ſpite of you by time. In twenty, in thirty years, the remembrance of your atrocious deeds will ſtill be freſh; and the fruit of them will be raviſhed from you. Then, there will remain to you but remorſe and ſhame. There is a decree of nature which you ſhall not change; which is, that great bodies give laws to little ones. But, tell me, if the Americans ſhould then undertake againſt Great Britain what you have now undertaken againſt them, what would you ſay? Preciſely what they at this moment ſay to you. Why ſhould motives which affect you ſo little in their mouths, appear to you more ſolid in your own?

They will not obey our parliament, nor adopt our ordinances——Did they make them? Can they change them?

We

We obey them readily enough, without having had, in time paſt, or having in the preſent, any influence over them——That is to ſay, that you are ſlaves; and that you cannot bear that men ſhould be free. However do not confound the ſituation of the Americans with your own. You have repreſentatives, and they have not. You have voices which ſpeak for you, and no perſon ſtipulates for them. If indeed theſe voices are bought and ſold, it is an excellent reaſon for their diſdaining ſuch a frivolous advantage.

They wiſh to be independent of us—— Are not you ſo of them?

They will never be able to ſupport themſelves without us——If that be ſo, be quiet. Neceſſity will bring them back.

And if we ſhould not be able to ſubſiſt without them——It would be a great miſ-

misfortune: but to cut their throats in order to get out of it, is a ſingular expedient.

It is for their intereſt, it is for their good, that we are ſevere with them, as one is ſevere with frantic children——Their intereſt! Their good! And who made you judges of theſe two objects which ſo nearly touch them, and which they ſhould better know than you? If it ſhould happen that a man ſhould make a forcible entry into another's houſe, becauſe, forſooth, he is a man of great ſenſe, and nobody more able to maintain peace and good order for his neighbour, ſhould not one be in the right to humbly beg he would be pleaſed to take himſelf away, and to trouble his head about his own affairs? And if the affairs of this officious hypocrite ſhould be very badly ordered?

ordered? If he ſhould be at the bottom but an ambitious mortal, who, under the pretence of ſettling and ordering, ſhould have a violent inclination to uſurp? If he ſhould cover with the maſk of benevolence, but views full of injuſtice, ſuch for example, as to get himſelf out of ſtraits and difficulties at his neighbour's coſt?

We are the mother-country——What, always the moſt holy names to ſerve as a veil to intereſt and ambition! The mother-country! Fulfil the duties of it then. Beſides, colonies are formed of different nations, amongſt which ſome will grant, others refuſe you this appellation; and all will with one voice tell you, There is a time when the authority of parents over their children ceaſes; and this time is when the children are

able

able to provide for themſelves. What term have you fixed for our emancipation? Be candid, and you will allow that you had promiſed yourſelves to be able to hold us in a wardſhip or minority which ſhould never end. If, indeed, this wardſhip were not to have turned for us into an inſupportable conſtraint; if our advantage were not for ever to be ſacrificed to yours; if we were not to have had a multitude of thoſe minor oppreſſions, which, together, ſwell to a bulk moſt burdenſome, to bear from the governors, the judges, the collectors, and the military, whom you ſend us; if the greateſt part of them, at their arrival in our climate, were not to have brought with them, blaſted characters, ruined fortunes, rapacious hands, and the inſolence of ſubaltern tyrants, who, tired,

in

in their own country, with obeying laws, come to requite themſelves, in a new world, by the exerciſe of an arbitrary power. You are the mother-country: but ſo far from encouraging, you fear our progreſs, bind our hands, and repreſs and ſtrangle our growing ſtrength. Nature in favouring us deceives your ſecret wiſhes; or rather, you would chuſe, that we ſhould remain in an eternal chilhood, with regard to all that can be uſeful to ourſelves, and that, notwithſtanding, we ſhould be robuſt vaſſals, to be employed in your ſervice, and in the furniſhing, without remiſſion, new ſources of riches to your inſatiable avidity. Is it this then to be a mother? Is it this to be a country to her children? Ah, in the foreſts which ſurround us, nature has given a gentler inſtinct to the ſavage beaſt,

beaſt, which, become a mother, devours not at leaſt thoſe which ſhe has produced.

Were all their pretenſions to be acquieſced in, they would ſoon be happier than we are. And why not? If you are corrupted, is it neceſſary that they muſt be corrupted too? If you have a diſpoſition to ſlavery, muſt they too follow your example? If they had you for maſters, why ſhould you not confer the property of their country upon another power, upon your ſovereign? Why ſhould you not render him their deſpot, as you have by a ſolemn act declared him the deſpot of Canada? Would it then be neceſſary that they ſhould ratify this extravagant conceſſion? And even if they ſhould have ratified it, muſt they obey the ſovereign whom you ſhould have

have given them, and, if he commanded it, take arms againſt you? The King of England has a negative power. No law can be promulgated without his conſent. Why ſhould the Americans grant him, in their country, a power, of the inconvenience of which you are continually made ſenſible? Should it be, in order one day to diveſt him of it, ſword in hand, as it will happen to you, if your government be perfected? What advantage do you find in ſubjecting them to a vicious conſtitution?

Vicious or not, this is our conſtitution; and ought to be generally acknowledged and received, by all who bear the Engliſh name; without which, each of our provinces governing itſelf in its own way, having its own laws, and pretending to independence, we ceaſe to form a national body,

body, and are no more than a heap of little republics, detached, divided, continually riſing againſt one another, and eaſily to be uſurped by a common enemy. The adroit and powerful Philip, capable of attempting ſuch an enterprize, is at our door.

If he is at your door, he is far from the Americans. A privilege which may have ſome inconvenience with regard to you, is not the leſs a privilege. But ſeparated, as they are, from Great Britain by immenſe ſeas, of what importance is it to you, whether your colonies receive, or reject, your conſtitution? What does that make, for, or againſt, your power; for, or againſt, your ſafety? This unity, of which you exaggerate the advantages, is ſtill but a vain pretext. You object your laws to your

your colonies, when they are haraſſed by them; and you tread them under foot, when they make in their favour. You tax yourſelves, and you would tax them. If the leaſt attempt is made upon this privilege, you make a furious outcry, fly to arms, and are ready to run on ſwords in its defence; and yet, you hold a dagger to your countryman, to oblige him to renounce it. Your ports are open to all the world; and you ſhut up the ports of your coloniſts. Your merchandize is waſted where you pleaſe; and theirs muſt neceſſarily come to you. You manufacture, and you will not ſuffer them to manufacture. They have ſkins, they have iron; and they muſt deliver up to you, unwrought, this iron and theſe ſkins. What you acquire at a low price, they muſt buy of you at the price which your rapacity

 impoſes.

impoſes. You offer them up as victims to your traders; and becauſe your India Company was in danger, the Americans muſt needs repair their loſſes. And yet you call them your countrymen and fellow-citizens; and it is thus that you invite them to receive your conſtitution. Go to, go to. This unity, this league which ſeems ſo neceſſary to you, is but that of the ſilly animals in the fable, amongſt which you have reſerved to yourſelves the lion's part.

Perhaps you have not ſuffered yourſelves to be drawn to the filling the new world with blood and devaſtation, but by a falſe point of honour. We wiſh to perſuade ourſelves that ſo many crimes have not been the conſequences of a project deliberately formed. You had been

been told, that the Americans were but a vile herd of cowards, whom the leaſt threat would bring, terrified and trembling, to acquieſce in whatever it ſhould pleaſe you to exact. Inſtead of the cowards which had been deſcribed and promiſed you, you find true men, true Engliſhmen, countrymen worthy of yourſelves. Is this a reaſon for your being irritated? What! your anceſtors admired the Hollander ſhaking off the Spaniſh yoke; and ſhould you, their deſcendants, be angry or ſurprized, that your countrymen, your brethren, that they who feel your blood circulate in their veins, ſhould rather pour it on the ground and die, than live in yokes and bondage? A ſtranger, upon whom you ſhould have formed the ſame pretenſions, would have diſarmed you, if, ſhewing you his naked breaſt, he had

ſaid, *Plunge in your poignard here, or leave me free:* and yet you ſtab your brother; and you ſtab him without remorſe, becauſe he is your brother! Engliſhmen! what can be more ignominious than the ſavageneſs of a man, proud of his own liberty, and wickedly attempting to deſtroy the liberty of another! Would you have us believe, that the greateſt enemy to freedom is the man that is free? Alas! we are but too much inclined to it. Enemies of kings, you have their arrogance and pride. Enemies of royal prerogative, you carry it every where. Every where you ſhew yourſelves tyrants. Well then, tyrants of nations, and of your colonies, if in the event you prove the ſtrongeſt, it will be becauſe heaven is deaf to the prayers which are directed to it from all the countries upon earth.

Since

Since the ſeas have not ſwallowed up your bluſtering ruffians, tell me, what will become of them, if there ſhould ariſe in the new world a man of eloquence, promiſing eternal happineſs to the martyrs of liberty who die in arms. Americans! let your preachers be ſeen inceſſantly in their pulpits, with crowns of glory in their hands, pointing to heaven open. Prieſts of the new world, now is the time for it; expiate the deteſtable fanaticiſm, which once laid waſte America, by the happy fanaticiſm, begotten by policy upon freedom. No; you will not deceive your countrymen. To God, who is the principle of juſtice and of order, tyrants are abomination. God has imprinted on the heart of man this ſacred love of liberty; he wills not that ſlavery disfigure and debaſe his nobleſt work. If deification be due to man,

man, it is, undoubtedly, to that man who fights and dies for his native ſoil. Put his image in your temples; ſet it on your altars. It ſhall be worſhipped by his country. From a political and religious calendar, marking each day by the name of ſome hero, who ſhall have ſpilled his blood to ſet you free. Your poſterity ſhall one day read them with holy joy: theſe, ſhall it ſay, behold, theſe were the men who gave liberty to half a world; and who, charging themſelves with our happineſs, before we had exiſtence, ſecured our infant ſlumbers from the being diſturbed and terrified by the clank of chains.

[*What was the part which England ſhould have taken, when ſhe ſaw the fermentation of her colonies?*]

When the cauſe of your colonies was argued

argued in your houſes of parliament, we heard ſome excellent pleadings pronounced in their favour. But that which ſhould have been addreſſed to you perhaps is this:

"I ſhall not talk to you, my lords "and gentlemen, of the juſtice or in- "juſtice of your pretenſions. I am not "ſuch a ſtranger to public affairs as not "to know that this preliminary diſcuſſion, "ſo ſacred in all the other circumſtances "of life, would be miſplaced and ridi- "culous in this. I ſhall not examine "what hope you can have of ſucceeding, "or if you are likely to prove the "ſtrongeſt in the event, tho' this ſub- "ject might, perhaps, appear to you of "ſome importance, and might, probably, "inſure me the honour of your atten- "tion. I will do more. I ſhall not

"compare

" compare the advantages of your ſitua-
" tion, if you ſucceed, with the conſe-
" quences which will follow, if you are
" unfortunate. I ſhall not aſk you how
" long you are determined to ſerve the
" cauſe of your enemies. But I will
" ſuppoſe at once, that you have re-
" duced your colonies to the degree of
" ſervitude which you have authorita-
" tively required. Shew me only how
" you will fix and keep them. By a
" ſtanding army? But will this army,
" which will drain you of men and
" money, keep pace, or not keep pace,
" with the increaſe of population? There
" are but two anſwers to my queſtion;
" and, of theſe two anſwers, one ſeems
" to be abſurd, and the other brings
" you back to the point at which you
" are. I have reflected on it well; and
" I have diſcovered, if I am not miſ-
" taken,

" taken, the only rational and certain
" plan which you have to follow. And
" it is, as ſoon as you ſhall be the maſ-
" ters, to ſtop the progreſs of popula-
" tion, ſince it appears to you more
" advantageous, more honourable, and
" more becoming, to domineer over a
" ſmall number of ſlaves, than to have
" a nation of freemen for your equals
" and your friends.

" But you will aſk me, how is the
" progreſs of population to be ſtopped?
" The expedient might revolt weak
" minds, and cowardly ſouls; but hap-
" pily there are not any ſuch in this
" auguſt aſſembly. It is, to ſtab with-
" out pity the greateſt part of theſe vile
" rebels, and to reduce the reſt of them
" to the condition of the negroes. The
" high-ſpirited and generous Spartans,
" ſo extolled in ancient and modern

"ſtory, have ſet you the example.
"Like them, and with their faces
"muffled in their cloaks, ſhall our fel-
"low-citizens, and the bravoes in our
"pay, go clandeſtinely, and by night,
"to maſſacre the children of our Helots,
"at their fathers' ſide, and on their mo-
"thers' breaſt; and leave alive but ſuch
"a number of them, as may be ſuffici-
"ent for their labours, and conſiſtent
"with our ſafety."

Engliſhmen! you ſhudder at this horrible propoſition, and you aſk what part there is to take. Vanquiſhers, or vanquiſhed, ſee here then what you ought to do. If the reſentment, excited by your cruelties, can be calmed; if the Americans can ſhut their eyes to the devaſtation which ſurrounds them; if, in paſſing over the ruins of their towns

deſtroyed

deſtroyed by fire, and their fields whitened by the bones of murdered relatives; if, in drawing-in with every reſpiration the ſcent of the blood which your hands have on all ſides ſhed, they can forget the outrages of your deſpotiſm; if they can prevail upon themſelves to place the leaſt confidence in your declarations of contrition, and to believe that you have indeed renounced the injuſtice of your pretenſions, begin by recalling your mercenary cut-throats. Reſtore freedom to their ports, which you keep ſhut up; withdraw your ſquadrons from their coaſts; and, if there be a wiſe citizen amongſt you, let him take the olive-branch in his hand, preſent himſelf, and ſay,

"O you, our countrymen, and our "old friends; allow us this title; we "have

" have profaned it, but our repentance
" renders us worthy to reſume it, and
" we aſpire henceforward at the glory
" to preſerve it. We confeſs, in the
" preſence of this heaven, and of this
" earth, which have been conſcious of
" it, we confefs, that our pretenſions
" have been unjuſt, our conduct has
" been cruel. Let it on each ſide be
" forgotten. Raiſe up again your for-
" treſſes and your ramparts. Reaſſem-
" ble in your peaceable habitations. Let
" us waſh out the remembrance of every
" drop of blood that has been ſpilled.
" We admire the generous ſpirit by
" which you have been directed. It is
" the ſame with that to which, in ſimi-
" lar circumſtances, we have been in-
" debted for our political ſalvation.
" Yes, it is by theſe marks, expreſsly,
" that we now know you to be indeed

" our

" our countrymen, to be indeed our
" brothers; concerning whom we have
" verily been guilty; and therefore is
" this diſtreſs come upon us. You
" would be free; be ye free. Be ſo,
" in the whole extent which we have
" ourſelves given to this ſacred name.
" It is not of us that you hold this right.
" Not unto us, not unto us, doth belong
" the power, by which it is to be given,
" or taken away. You have received
" it, as we did, from nature, which the
" ſins and ſwords of tyrants may oppoſe,
" but which the ſins and ſwords of ty-
" rants cannot deſtroy. We lay claim to
" no ſort of ſuperiority over you. We
" aſpire but at the honour of equality.
" This glory is ſufficient for us. We
" know too well the ineſtimable value
" of governing ourſelves, to wiſh hence-
" forward that you ſhould be diveſted of
" the boon.

" If,

"If, ſupreme maſters and arbiters
"of your legiſlation, you can create
"for your ſtates a better government
"than ours, we give you anticipated
"joy. Your happineſs will inſpire us
"with no other ſentiment, than the de-
"ſire of imitation. Form for yourſelves
"conſtitutions adapted to your climate,
"to your ſoil, to this new world
"you civilize. Who better than your-
"ſelves can know your peculiar wants?
"High-ſpirited and virtuous minds, like
"yours, ſhould obey but the laws which
"ſhall be given them by themſelves.
"All other reſtraint would be unworthy
"of them. Regulate your own taxa-
"tion. We deſire you only to con-
"form yourſelves to our cuſtom in the
"aſſeſſment of the duties. We will
"preſent to you a ſtate of our wants;
"and you will of yourſelves aſſign the
"juſt

" juſt proportion between your ſuccours
" and your riches.

" Moreover, exerciſe your induſtry,
" like us; without limitation exerciſe
" it. Avail yourſelves of the benefits of
" nature, and of the fruitful countries
" you inhabit. Let the iron of your
" mines, the wool of your flocks, the
" ſkins of the ſavage animals which
" wander in your woods, faſhioned in
" your manufactures, take a new value
" from your hands. Be your ports free.
" Go, and expoſe to ſale the productions
" of your lands, and of your arts,
" in all the quarters of the world. Go,
" and ſeek for thoſe of which you ſtand
" in need. It is one of our privileges,
" let it be likewiſe yours. The empire
" of the ocean, which we have acquired
" by two ages of greatneſs and glory,
" belongs

" belongs as well to you as us. We " ſhall be united by the ties of com- " merce. You will bring us your pro- " ductions, which we ſhall receive in " preference to thoſe of all other people, " and we hope that you will prefer ours " to thoſe of foreigners, without being " reſtrained to it however by any law, " but that of the common intereſt, and " the fair claims of countrymen and " friends.

" Let the ſhips of your country and " of ours, adorned by the ſame ſtream- " er, overſpread the ſeas; and let ſhouts " of joy ariſe on each ſide, when ſiſter- " veſſels meet each other in the deſerts " of the ocean. Let peace ſpring up " again between us, and concord laſt " for ever. We are ſenſible at length, " that the chain of mutual benevolence " is the only one, which can bind

" ſuch

" ſuch diſtant empires together, and
" that every other principle of unity
" would be precarious and unjuſt.

" Upon this new plan of eternal ami-
" ty, let agriculture, induſtry, laws,
" arts, and the firſt of all ſciences, that
" of procuring the greateſt good to com-
" munities and individuals, be perfect-
" ed amongſt you. Let the recital of
" your happineſs call around you all
" the unfortunate of the earth. Let
" the tyrants of all countries, let all
" oppreſſors, political or ſacred, know,
" that there exiſts upon the earth a
" place, where a deliverance from their
" chains is to be found; where afflict-
" ed, dejected humanity has lifted up
" her head; where harveſts grow for
" the poor; where laws are no more

" than

" than the ſecurity of happineſs; where
" religion is free, and conſcience has
" ceaſed to be a ſlave; where, in ſhort,
" nature ſeems to put in her plea of juſti-
" fication, for having created man; and
" government, ſo long time guilty, over
" all the earth, makes at laſt the repa-
" ration of its crimes. Let the idea of
" ſuch an aſylum ſerve as a terror and
" reſtraint to deſpots: for if they have no
" kindneſs about their hearts, and look
" with indifference on the happineſs of
" man, they have at leaſt much avarice
" and ambition, which muſt take them
" anxious to preſerve both their riches
" and their power.

" We ourſelves, O countrymen, O
" friends, we ourſelves ſhall profit by
" your example. If our conſtitution
" ſhould be altered for the worſe; if
" public riches ſhould corrupt the court,

" and

" and the court the nation; if our kings
" to whom we have given ſo many ter-
" rible examples, ſhould at laſt forget
" them; if we ſhould be in danger, we
" who were an auguſt people, of dwin-
" dling to a vile herd of abjects, by
" baſely ſetting ourſelves to ſale; we
" might be re-animated by the ſight of
" your virtues and your laws. It might
" recall to our depraved and daſtard
" hearts, with a ſenſe of the value and
" the grandeur of liberty, the energy to
" preſerve it. But if it muſt be, that
" ſuch an example as yours ſhall want
" power to prompt us; if it muſt be,
" that ſlavery, the never-failing follower
" of venality, ſhall be, one day, eſtab-
" liſhed in that land, which has been in-
" undated with blood in the cauſe of
" freedom, which has ſeen ſcaffolds erec-
" ted for the puniſhment of tyrants;

" then

" then will we emigrate like your fa-
" thers, then will we abandon, in a body,
" the ungrateful iſle, delivered up, to
" a deſpot, and leave the monſter, to
" reign and roar, in a deſert for domain.
" Then ſhall you ſurely welcome us as
" friends, as brothers. You will ſuffer
" us to partake with you of this ſoil, of
" this air, free as the generous ſouls of
" their inhabitants, and, thanks to your
" virtues, we ſhall find again an Eng-
" land, again a country.

" Such, brave countrymen, are our
" hopes, ſuch our wiſhes. Receive then
" our oaths, pledges of ſo holy an al-
" liance. Let us invoke, to ſtill add ſo-
" lemnity to the treaty, let us invoke
" our common anceſtors, who were all
" animated by the ſpirit of liberty like
" you, and did not dread to die in its
" defence.

" defence. Let us call to witneſs, the
" memory of the illuſtrious founders of
" your colonies, that of your auguſt le-
" giſlators, of the philoſophic Locke, the
" firſt man upon the earth who made
" a code of toleration, of the venerable
" Penn, the firſt who founded a city of
" brethren. The ſpirits of theſe great
" men, who ſurely at this moment are
" beholding us with earneſtneſs and with
" pleaſure, are worthy to preſide at a
" treaty, which is about to draw the
" bleſſings of peace upon a double-world:
" Swear we, in their preſence; ſwear we,
" upon the very arms, with which you
" have ſo valiantly withſtood us; ſwear
" we, to remain for ever united, and for
" ever true; and when the oath of peace
" ſhall have been pronounced by all,
" make, of theſe ſame arms, a ſacred
" depoſite

"depoſite in ſome hallowed pile, where "the fathers ſhall ſhew them to the ge- "nerations as they riſe; and there keep "them carefully from age to age, in order "to their being, one day, turned againſt "the firſt, be he Engliſh or American, "who ſhall dare propoſe the rupture of "that alliance, which is equally uſeful, "equally honourable to both the names."

At this diſcourſe, I hear the towns, the villages, the fields, all the ſhores of North America reſound, with livelieſt acclamation, with tendereſt repetition of the endearing names of brother and of mother, applied to your country and her ſons. And whilſt the conflagrations of war are ſucceeded by bonfires and ſports, and every demonſtration of a heart-felt triumphant joy, I ſee the na-

tions

tions envious of your power, to ſtand aghaſt, in ſilence, aſtoniſhment, deſpair.

Your parliament is about to meet. What is to be expected from it? Will it liſten to reaſon, or will it perſevere in its madneſs? Will it be the defender of the rights of nations, or the inſtrument of the tyranny of miniſters? Will its acts be the decrees of a free people, or edicts dictated by the Court? I am at preſent at the deliberations of your houſes. In theſe revered reſorts I hear wiſdom ſpeak by the mouth of moderation. Soft perſuaſion ſeems to flow there, from the lips of moſt diſtinguiſhed orators. My heart is filled with hope: my eyes overrun with tears. Preſently a voice, the organ of deſpotiſm and of war, ſuſpends the delicious, ſweet emotion.

"Engliſh-

" Engliſhmen, cries a mad haranguer, " can you heſitate a moment? It is your " rights, it is your moſt important inte- " reſts, it is the glory of your name, " that you are called upon to defend. " It is not a foreign power which attacks " theſe eſſential objects. They are me- " naced by an interior, domeſtic enemy. " The danger therefore is more im- " minent, the outrage the more ſen- " ſible.

" Between two rival powers, armed " for mutual pretenſions, policy may " ſometimes ſuſpend hoſtilities. Againſt " rebel ſubjects, ſlackneſs is the greateſt " fault, and all moderation weakneſs. " The ſtandard of revolt, which was ſet " up by audacity, ſhould be torn down " by power. Let the ſword of juſtice " fall heavy on the hands which dared

" diſplay

" diſplay it. Let us be expeditious. In
" theſe caſes there is a firſt moment
" which muſt be ſeized on; revolutions
" ſhould be ſtrangled in their birth.
" Give not to minds, yet in amazement,
" time to grow familiar with their guilt;
" to the ringleaders, time to confirm their
" power; nor to the people, that of learn-
" ing to obey new maſters. The people, in
" a revolt, are almoſt always actuated by
" alien impulſes. Neither their fury, nor
" their hatred, nor their love, are properly
" their own. You may give them paſ-
" ſions, as eaſily as arms. Diſplay to
" their eyes, the power and majeſty of
" the Britiſh empire: they will preſently
" be falling at your feet; and go in an
" inſtant from terror to compunction,
" from compunction to obedience. If
" we muſt have recourſe to the ſeverity
" of arms, let us have no ſcruples. In

" civil war, pity is a moſt miſtaken vir-
" tue. When the ſword is once drawn,
" it ought not to be ſtayed, but by ſub-
" miſſion. It is for them to anſwer now,
" to heaven and to earth, for the evils
" which they bring upon themſelves.
" Conſider that a tranſient ſeverity, in
" theſe rebellious countries, will inſure
" us peace and obedience that will laſt
" for ages.

" In order to make us ſuſpend our
" blows, and diſarm our hands, we have
" been told, and told repeatedly, that the
" land is peopled by our countrymen, by
" our friends, by our brethren. What,
" invoke in their favour names which
" they have outraged, bands which they
" have broken? Theſe names, theſe
" bands, ſo ſacred, are the very thing
" that accuſes and attaints them. Since
" when, were theſe revered titles to im-
" poſe

" poſe duties but on us? Since when,
" had rebellious children the right to take
" arms againſt their mother, deſpoil her
" of her heritage, and rend her heart?
" They talk of liberty: I reſpect this
" name as much as they do; but by this
" liberty, is it independance, that we are
" to underſtand? Is it the right, to over-
" turn a legiſlation, founded and eſta-
" bliſhed two ages ſince? Is it the right,
" to uſurp all thoſe which we poſſeſs?
" They talk of liberty, but I talk, and
" will always talk, of the ſupremacy,
" and the ſovereign power, of Britain.

" What, ſuppoſing they had ſome
" cauſes of complaint, ſuppoſing they
" intended to refuſe bearing ſome light
" portion of the heavy burden under
" which we ſtagger, to refuſe unreaſona-
" bly to make themſelves partners in

" our expences, as we have made them
" partners in our greatneſs, had they no
" other way to do it, than by revolt and
" arms? There are thoſe who call them
" our countrymen, and our friends;
" but, for my part, I can ſee them in no
" other light than that of the moſt cruel
" perſecutors and enemies of our coun-
" try. We had common fathers, it is
" ſaid; and ſo, undoubtedly, we had:
" but theſe reſpectable anceſtors I myſelf
" with confidence invoke. If their
" ſpirits could here reſume their places,
" their indignation would not be inferior
" to our own. With what wrath would
" theſe virtuous citizens then underſtand,
" that thoſe of their children who went
" to fix themſelves beyond the ſeas, no
" ſooner began to be a little conſcious
" of their ſtrength, than they made a
" traitorous trial of it againſt their coun-
" try;

"try; armed themſelves againſt her
"with the very benefits her bounty had
"beſtowed? Yes, all; even to that paci-
"fic ſect, enjoined ſtrictly by their
"founder never to dip their hands in
"blood; they, who have reſpected the
"lives and the rights of ſavage peo-
"ple; they, who by an enthuſiaſm of
"humanity, have ſtruck off the fetters
"from their ſlaves: now, equally faith-
"leſs to their country and their religion,
"they arm their hands for ſlaughter;
"and it is againſt you. They treat all
"men as brethren; and you, you only,
"of all people are excluded from the
"title. They have ſhewn the world
"that the ſavages of America, that the
"negroes of Africa, are henceforward
"leſs alien to them than the citizens of
"Britain.

"Arm, then, arm. Britons, ſtrike "home; revenge, revenge, your coun- "try's wrongs, your offended rights. "Revenge the treaſon to your greatneſs.

"Diſplay that power, ſo redoubtable in "Europe, in Africa, and the Indies; "which has ſo often aſtoniſhed Ameri- "ca herſelf; and ſince between a ſo- "vereign people and the ſubject-people "who revolt, there can be no treaty now, "but force, let force decide. Snatch "opportunely at this world, which is "falling from you, and reſume it; it is "your property, which ingratitude and "inſolence would raviſh from you."

[*England determines to reduce her colonies by force.*]

The ſophiſms of a fretting, ſtrutting ſpeechifier, upheld by royal power and national

national pride, ſuppreſs, in the majority of the repreſentatives of the people, the deſire of pacific meaſures. New reſolutions reſemble thoſe which begot them; but with aggravated features of ferocity and deſpotiſm. Levies of troops, equipments of fleets. Admirals and generals ſet ſail for the new world, with orders and projects ſanguinary and ſavage. Nothing leſs than unconditional ſubmiſſion can reſtrain or retard the devaſtation ordained againſt the colonies.

Until this memorable period, the Americans had confined themſelves to a reſiſtance, authorized even by the Engliſh laws. No other ambition appeared in them, than that of maintaining the very limited rights which they had hitherto enjoyed. Even the leading men amongſt them, who might be ſuppoſed

to have more enlarged ideas, had not yet ventured to ſpeak to the multitude of any thing but an advantageous accommodation. They would have been afraid, in going further, of loſing the confidence of people attached by habit to an empire, under whoſe wings they had proſpered. The accounts of the great preparations which were making in the old-world, with fetters to confine, or with fire to conſume, the new, extinguiſhed all remains of affection for the original government. The only buſineſs now, was, to give energy to minds ready to receive it. This was the effect which a work intituled, "*Common Senſe*," produced. We ſhall give here the ſum and ſubſtance of its doctrine, without tying ourſelves down to its exact form and order.

Never,

Never, ſays the author of this celebrated performance, never did a more grand concernment call for the attention of the world. It is not that of a city or a province, it is that of an immenſe continent, and of a conſiderable portion of the globe. It is not the affair of a day, it is that of ages. The preſent is about to decide upon a long futurity; and many hundreds of years after that we ſhall be no more, the ſun, in illuminating this hemiſphere, will illuminate our glory, or expoſe our ſhame. A long time did we ſpeak of peace and reconcilement: all is changed. On the day when, in conſequence of the recourſe which has been had to arms, the firſt drop of blood was ſhed, time for diſquiſition paſſed away. A day has given birth to a revolution. A day has tranſported us to another age.

Timid ſouls, ſouls who meaſure the future by the paſt, think that we ſtand in need of the protection of England. That protection might be uſeful to a riſing colony; it is become dangerous for a nation formed. Infancy muſt needs be ſupported, in its weak endeavours to walk; youth ſhould march actively and freely, in power and pride of port. The nation, as well as the man, who may have the power and right to protect me, may have the power and will to oppreſs me. I give up the ſupport of a protector, to be ſecured from the fear of a maſter.

In Europe the people are too much agitated to allow to this part of the world the enjoyment of conſtant peace. In thoſe courts and nations intereſts meet intereſts, and joſtle without end. As friends

friends of England we muſt neceſſarily have all her enemies for our own. This alliance will entail upon America the dower of perpetual war. Let us part, let us part. Neutrality, trade and peace; ſuch, and ſuch only, can be the foundations of our greatneſs.

The authority of Great Britain over America muſt ſooner or later be extinct. So wills nature, neceſſity, and time. The Engliſh government can, therefore, give us only a tranſient conſtitution; and we ſhall bequeath to our poſterity but debts, and diſſentions, and a precarious ſtate. If we would inſure their happineſs, let us part. If we are fathers, if we love our children, let us part. Laws and liberty are the heritage we owe them.

England is too far removed from us; we cannot be governed by ſuch a diſtant coun-

try. What to traverſe, always, two thouſand leagues, to claim juſtice, or to aſk for laws! to exculpate ourſelves from imaginary crimes, or ſolicit, with meanneſs, the court and miniſters of a foreign clime! What, to wait for years for every anſwer; and to find, as we might too often, when we had croſſed and recroſſed the ocean, that injuſtice only would be the product of our voyage! No; to be a great ſtate, the center and the ſeat of power muſt be in the ſtate itſelf. Nothing but the deſpotiſm of the Eaſt can inure men thus to receive their laws from rulers far remote, or from the baſhaws, by whom inviſible tyrants are repreſented. But let it not be forgotten, that the more the diſtance is augmented, the more ponderous and cruel is the preſſure of the deſpotic power; and the people then, deprived of almoſt all the advantages of government, feel only its miſeries and its vices.

Na-

Nature did not create a world to ſubject it to the inhabitants of an iſland. Nature has eſtabliſhed the laws of equilibrium, which ſhe every where obſerves, in the heavens as well as upon the earth. By the laws of bodies, and of diſtances, America can belong but to itſelf.

There is no government without a a mutual confidence between him who commands and him who obeys. It is all over; this mutual confidence is gone, and never can return. England has too clearly ſhewn that ſhe would command us like ſlaves; America, that ſhe was equally ſenſible both of her rights and of her ſtrength. They have each betrayed their ſecret. From this moment there can be no further treaty. It would be ſigned by hatred and diſtruſt;

diſtruſt; hatred, which never pardons; diſtruſt, which, by its very nature, can never be reconciled.

Would you know what an accommodation would produce? Your ruin. You ſtand in need of laws; you will not obtain them. Who would give them to you? The Engliſh nation? She is jealous of your increaſe. The ? He is your enemy. Yourſelves, in your aſſemblies? Do you not remember that all legiſlation is ſubmitted to the negative right of the monarch who would bring you to his yoke? This right would be a formidable right inceſſantly armed againſt you. Make requeſts; they will be eluded. Form plans of commerce and greatneſs; they will become to the mother-country an object of affright. Your govern-

government will be no more than a kind of clandeſtine war; that of an enemy who would deſtroy without openly attacking; it will be, according to the ordinary courſe of policy, a ſlow and ſecret aſſaſſination, which will cauſe languor and prolong weakneſs, and, with the art of an imperial torturer, equally prohibit you to live or die. Submit to England; and behold your fate.

It is not without right that we take arms. Our right is neceſſity, a juſt defence, the miſeries of ourſelves and of our children, the exceſſes committed againſt us. Our right is our auguſt title of nation. It is for the ſword to judge us. The tribunal of war, is the only tribunal which now exiſts for us. Well then, ſince the ſword muſt neceſ-

ſarily be drawn, let us be ſure at leaſt, that it be for a cauſe that may be worthy of it, and requite us for both our treaſure and our blood. What, ſhall we expoſe ourſelves to the ſeeing our habitations ruined, our lands laid waſte, our families ſlaughtered, in order to compaſs at laſt an accommodation; that is, to implore new chains, and cement ourſelves the edifice of our bondage? What, ſhall it be by the dreadful light of conflagrations, ſhall it be on the tomb of our fathers, or our children, or our wives, that we ſhall ſign oppreſſors! and, all covered with our blood, will they deign to pardon us! Ah, we ſhould then be but a vile object of pitying wonder to Europe, of indignation to America, and of contempt even to our enemies. If we can obey them, we had not the right to combat them.

them. Liberty only can abſolve us. Liberty, and perfect liberty, is the only object worthy of our labours and our dangers. What do I ſay? From this moment it is our own. Our title is written on the bloody plains of Lexington; it was there that the hand of England tore the contract by which we were united to her. Yes. At the moment when the report of the firſt muſket diſcharged by England was heard, nature herſelf proclaimed us free and independent.

Let us profit by the benefit of foes. The youth of nations is the age moſt favourable to their independence. It is the time of energy and vigour. Our ſouls are not yet ſurrounded by that apparatus of luxury, which ſerves as hoſtage to a tyrant. Our arms are not yet enervated in the

the arts of ſoftneſs. Amongſt us are not ſeen to domineer thoſe nobles, who, by their very conſtitution, are the neceſſary allies of kings; who love not liberty, but when they can make of it an inſtrument of oppreſſion; thoſe nobles, eager for privilege and title, for whom, in critical conjunctures, the people are but tools, for whom the ſupreme power is a ready corruptor.

Your colonies are formed of plain, brave, laborious, upright men, proprietors and cultivators of their land in one. Liberty is their firſt want. Rural labours have already hardened them for war. Public enthuſiaſm brings to light unknown talents. It is in revolutions that great minds are formed, that heroes ſhew themſelves, and take their place. Remember Holland, and all her ſons; and that

number

number of extraordinary men to which the quarrel of her liberty gave birth: behold in theſe men an example for you; remember their ſucceſs, and behold a preſage.

Let our firſt ſtep be to form a conſtitution by which we may be united. The moment is arrived. Later, it would be abandoned to an uncertain futurity and the caprice of chance. The more people and riches we ſhall acquire, the more barriers will there be raiſed up between us. Then, how ſhall ſo many provinces and intereſts be made conſiſtent? For ſuch an union, it is neceſſary that each people ſhould at once be ſenſible, both of the particular weakneſs, and the general ſtrength. There muſt be great calamities or great fears. It is then, amongſt communities as

amongſt

amongſt individuals, that ſpring up thoſe firm and vigorous friendſhips which aſſociate ſouls with ſouls, and intereſts with intereſts. It is then, that one ſpirit, breathed from every part, forms the genius of ſtates; and that all the ſcattered powers become by union a ſingle and a formidable power. Thanks to our perſecutors, we are at this epocha. If we have courage, it will be that of our happineſs. Few nations have laid hold of the favourable moment to form their government. Once eſcaped, this moment returns no more; and anarchy or ſlavery puniſhes the neglect of it for ages. Let not a ſimilar fault prepare for us ſimilar regret. Regret is impotent.

Let the moment, which, in reſpect to us, is ſingular, be ſeized on. We have

it in our power to frame the fineſt conſtitution that the world has ſeen. You have read in your ſacred books how mankind were deſtroyed by the general deluge. A ſingle family ſurvived, and was commanded by the Supreme Being to re-people the earth. We are this family. Deſpotiſm has deluged all; and we can a ſecond time renew the world.

We are about, at this moment, to decide the fate of a race of men more numerous perhaps than all the people of Europe put together. Shall we wait till we may be the prey of a conqueror, and ſuffer the hope of the univerſe to be deſtroyed? Imagine to yourſelves, that all the generations of the world to come, have at this moment their eyes fixed on us, and demand of us their liberty. We are about to fix their deſtiny. If

we

we give them up, they will, perhaps, one day, drag their chains acroſs our tombs, and load them with imprecations.

Call to mind a writing which has appeared amongſt you, and had for a motto, UNITE OR DIE.

Let us unite then, and begin by declaring our INDEPENDENCE. That alone can efface the name of rebellious ſubjects, which our inſolent oppreſſors have dared to give us. That alone can make us riſe up to the dignity which is our due, inſure us allies amongſt the powers, impreſs reſpect even upon our enemies, and, if we treat with them, give us the right to treat, with the power and majeſty which becomes a nation.

But

But I repeat it; we muſt be quick. Our uncertainty makes our weakneſs. Let us dare to be free, and we are ſo. Ready to take the leap, we draw back. We read the countenances of each other with anxious curioſity. It ſeems, as if we were aſtoniſhed at our own boldneſs, and that our very courage gave us fear. But it is not now the time to be muſing on calculations. It is paſſed. In great affairs, in which there is but one great part to take, too much circumſpection ceaſes to be prudence. Every thing that is extreme, demands reſolution in the extreme. Then, the boldeſt meaſures are the wiſeſt; and the exceſs of boldneſs itſelf becomes the means and the warrant of ſucceſs.

[*The colonies break the ties which united them to England, and declared themſelves independent of her.*]

Such was the ſubſtance of the ſentiments diſplayed in this work. They confirmed in their principles the enterprizing ſpirits who had long required a total ſeparation from the mother-country. The timid citizens, who had been wavering till then, now declared deciſively for this great and intereſting rupture. The votaries of independence were numerous enough to bring the general congreſs, on the 4th of July, 1776, to the determination to pronounce it.

Why have I not received the genius and the eloquence of the celebrated orators of Athens and of Rome! With what grandeur, with what enthuſiaſm, ſhould I not

not ſpeak of thoſe generous men who erected this grand edifice, by their patience, their wiſdom, and their courage! Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamſes, were the greateſt actors in this affecting ſcene: but they were not the only ones: Poſterity ſhall know them all. Their honoured names ſhall be tranſmitted to it by a happier pen than mine. Braſs and marble ſhall ſhew them to remoteſt ages. In beholding them, ſhall the friend of freedom feel his heart palpitate with joy, feel his eyes floating in delicious tears. Under the buſt of one of them has been written; HE WRESTED THUNDER FROM HEAVEN, AND THE SCEPTRE FROM TYRANTS*. Of the laſt words of this eulogy ſhall all of them partake.

* *Eripuit cælo fulmen, ſceptrumque tyrannis,* is the line applied to the great Electrician; and the tranſlator dares not criticiſe a line which his maſter has thought worthy to be ſtudded in his work.

Heroic country, my advanced age permits me not to viſit thee. Never ſhall I ſee myſelf amongſt the reſpectable perſonages of thy Areopagus; never ſhall I be preſent at the deliberations of thy congreſs. I ſhall die without having ſeen the retreat of toleration, of manners, of laws, of virtue, and of freedom. My aſhes will not be covered by a free and holy earth: but I ſhall have deſired it; and my laſt breath ſhall bear to heaven an ejaculation for thy proſperity.

Though America might be aſſured of univerſal approbation, ſhe thought it incumbent on her to expoſe to the eyes of the world the motives of her conduct. She publiſhed her manifeſto, in which we read that,

"The hiſtory of the Engliſh nation "and its king will ſhew to the ſucceeding "gene-

" generations, whom it ſhall entertain
" and inſtruct with accounts of them and
" us, a ſeries of outrages and of uſurpa-
" tions, which vied with each other in
" their tendency to eſtabliſh abſolute ty-
" ranny in theſe provinces.

" It will ſhew, that the monarch re-
" fuſed his conſent to laws the moſt ſa-
" lutary and the moſt neceſſary to the
" public good.

" That he removed the aſſemblies to
" inconvenient places, at a diſtance from
" all records in order to bring the depu-
" ties more eaſily to his views.

" That he had frequently diſſolved
" the aſſembly of repreſentatives, becauſe
" they had firmly defended the people's
" rights.

" That after ſuch diſſolution, he had

 " left

" left the ſtates too long without repre-
" ſentatives, and conſequently expoſed
" to the inconveniences reſulting from
" the want of aſſemblies.

" That he endeavoured to hinder po-
" pulation, by raiſing difficulties to the
" naturalization of foreigners, and by
" ſelling the lands, of which he granted
" the property, too dear.

" That he made the judges too de-
" pendant on himſelf, by decreeing that
" they ſhould hold but of him alone,
" both their offices and their ſalaries.

" That he created new employments,
" and filled this country with a multi-
" tude of placemen, who devoured our
" ſubſtance and diſturbed our quiet.

" That he maintained amongſt us, in
" time of profound peace, a conſider-
" able

" able number of troops, without the " conſent of the legiſlative power.

" That he rendered military power in- " dependent of, and even ſuperior to, " the civil power.

" That he contrived all means, in con- " junction with perverſe men, to quar- " ter armed ſoldiers in our houſes, and " exempt them from the pains due to " the murders they might commit in " America; to deſtroy our trade in all " parts of the world; to impoſe taxes on " us without our conſent; to deprive us, " in many caſes, of our trials by juries; " to tranſport us, and make us take " our trials, beyond the ſeas; to take " away our charters, ſuppreſs our beſt " laws, to alter the foundation and the " form of our government for the worſe;

"to ſuſpend our own legiſlation, and
"make us receive other laws.

"That he himſelf abdicated his go-
"vernment in the American provinces,
"by declaring us fallen from his pro-
"tection, and by making war upon us.

"That he cauſed our coaſts to be ra-
"vaged, our ports to be deſtroyed, our
"towns to be burnt, our people to be
"maſſacred.

"That he forced thoſe who were taken
"priſoners upon the high ſeas, to bear
"arms againſt their country, to become
"the executioners of their friends and
"brethren, or to periſh themſelves by
"hands ſo dear.

"That he excited amongſt us inteſtine
"diviſions; and that he endeavoured

"to

" to raiſe againſt our peaceable inhabit-
" ants, the barbarous ſavages, accuſtom-
" ed to maſſacre all, without diſtinction
" of rank, ſex, and age.

" That at this time there arrived on
" our ſhores foreign mercenaries, com-
" miſſioned to complete the work of
" devaſtation and death.

" And that a prince, whoſe character
" was thus marked by all the features of
" tyranny, was not fit to govern a free
" people."

A ſtep which broke the ties formed by blood, by religion, and by habit, was to be ſupported by a grand concert of wills, by wiſe and vigorous meaſures. The United ſtates of America gave themſelves a federate conſtitution, which joined, to the interior advantages of repub-

lican government, all the power of monarchy.

Each province had an aſſembly formed by the repreſentatives of the different diſtricts, and in which the legiſlative power reſided. The executive power was committed to its preſident. His rights and his obligations were, to liſten to every application from any of the people; to call them together when circumſtances might require it; to provide for the arming and ſubſiſting troops, and concert the operations of them with their officers. He was at the head of a ſecret committee, which was to hold a continual correſpondence with the general congreſs. The time of his continuance, in office was limited to two years. But the laws permitted a prolongation of it.

The

The provinces were not obliged to render an account of their adminiſtration to the great council of the nation, though compoſed of the deputies of all the colonies. The ſuperiority of the general congreſs over the particular congreſſes was confined to matters relative to politics and war.

But ſome people have thought that the inſtitution of this body was not ſo well contrived as the legiſlation of the provinces. It ſeems, it muſt be confeſſed, that federate ſtates, which raiſe themſelves from the condition of ſubjects up to that of being independent, cannot without danger truſt their delegates with the unlimited power of making peace and war. For theſe delegates, ſhould they be corrupt or ill informed, might bring back the whole ſtate to the bon-

dage which it is ſeeking to eſcape from. It ſeems that in theſe times of revolution, the public will, cannot be too well known, too literally pronounced. It is neceſſary, undoubtedly, they ſay, that all the meaſures, all the operations, which relate to the common defence and offence, ſhould be decided on by the common repreſentatives of the body of the ſtate: but the continuation of war, and the conditions of peace ought to be deliberated upon in every province; and the deliberations to be tranſmitted to the congreſs by the deputies, who would ſubmit the opinion of their provinces to the plurality of voices. In ſhort, they add, that if in eſtabliſhed governments it is proper that the people ſhould rely with confidence in the wiſdom of their ſenate, in a ſtate where the conſtitution is forming, where the people, as yet uncertain of

their

their fate, call for their liberty, ſword in hand, it is neceſſary that all the citizens ſhould be continually in council, in camp, in the public places, and have their eyes continually open upon the repreſentatives to whom their deſtiny has been committed.

Though theſe principles are true in general, there might be a difficulty, we may anſwer, in applying them to a new republic formed by the Americans. It is not with that republic as with the federate republics which we ſee in Europe, I mean Holland and Switzerland, which occupy a country but of ſmall extent, and in which it is eaſy to eſtabliſh a rapid communication between all the provinces. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the confederacies of ancient Greece. Theſe ſtates were ſituated at

a ſmall diſtance from each other, confined almoſt within the narrow compaſs of the Peloponneſus, or, at moſt, within the limits of the Archipelago. But the United States of America, diſperſed over an immenſe continent; occupying in the new world a ſpace of almoſt fifteen degrees; ſeparated by deſerts, by mountains, by gulfs, and by a vaſt extent of coaſt, cannot have the advantage of this rapid communication. If the general congreſs could not decide upon political intereſts without the particular deliberations of each province; if on every important occaſion, on every unforeſeen event, it ſhould be neceſſary to give new inſtructions, and, as we may ſay, a new power to the repreſentatives, this body would remain inactive. The diſtances to be paſſed, the delays and the multi-

multitude of debates, might too often be hurtful to the public good.

Beſides, it is never at the birth of a conſtitution, and amidſt the great fermentations of liberty, that there is cauſe to fear that a body of repreſentatives ſhould, either from weakneſs or corruption, betray the intereſts with which they are entruſted. It is rather in ſuch a body that the general ſpirit is both exalted and inflamed. In that reſides, in its vigour, the genius of the nation. Choſen by the eſteem of their fellow-citizens, choſen at a time when every public function is a danger, and every vote an honour, placed at the head of thoſe who will compoſe for ever that celebrated areopagus, and thence even naturally carried to regard the public liberty as their own work, they cannot but

but have the enthuſiaſm of founders, who make it their pride to have their names engraved conſpicuouſly, to be read by diſtant ages, on the frontiſpiece of an auguſt monument which is riſing. The fears which the partiſans of the contrary ſyſtem might have upon this object, ſeem therefore to have ſmall foundation.

I will ſay more. It might happen that a people who are fighting for liberty, fatigued with a long and painful ſtruggle, and more ſtruck with the preſent danger than the future good, might feel their courage failing, and perhaps, one day, be tempted to prefer dependence and peace to independence and tumult, attended with peril and with blood. Then would it be advantageous to this people to have diveſted themſelves

ſelves of the power of making peace with their oppreſſors, and depoſited it in the hands of the ſenate which they had choſen to ſerve as an organ to their will, when this will could ſhew itſelf with freedom, pride, and courage. It ſeems as if each individual, when he had given his voice for the inſtituting ſuch a ſenate, ſhould ſay to it, I raiſe the ſtandard of war againſt my tyrants. If my arm ſhould weary in the war, if I could debaſe myſelf ſo low as to implore repoſe, ſupport me againſt my weakneſs. Liſten to no prayer or wiſh unworthy of me, which I diſavow beforehand; and pronounce not the name of peace until my bonds be broken.

In reality, if we conſult the hiſtory of republics, we ſhall ſee, that the multitude have almoſt always great impetuoſity

tuoſity and heat at the firſt moment; but that it is only in a ſmall number of choſen men, and qualified to ſerve as chiefs, that reſide thoſe conſtant and vigorous reſolutions which march, with a ſteady, firm, undaunted ſtep, towards ſome great and worthy end, never turning, or looking, from the path, and never ceaſing, moſt ſtubbornly to combat all obſtructions that they meet with from fortune, from miſery, and from man.

[*Commencement of the war between the United States and England.*]

However it be, and whatſoever ſide may be taken in this political diſcuſſion, the Americans had not yet created for themſelves a ſyſtem of government, when in the month of March, Hopkins plundered

plundered the Iſland of Providence of a large train of artillery and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition; when in the beginning of May, Carleton drove out of Canada the Provincial troops, which were employed to reduce Quebec with a view of completing the conqueſt of that important territory; when in the month of June, Clinton and Parker had been ſo vigorouſly repulſed on the Southern coaſts of America. Far greater ſcenes followed the declaration of independence.

Howe had been appointed to ſuperſede the feeble Gage: and it was this new general who had evacuated Boſton. Having arrived on the 2d of April at Halifax, on the 10th of June he departed for Staten Iſland. The forces, which were to act both by ſea and land, ſucceſſively

ceſſively joined him according to expectation; and on the 28th of Auguſt he landed on Long-Iſland without oppoſition, under the protection of a fleet commanded by the admiral his brother. The Americans exhibited as little ſpirit in defending the interior part of their country as they did on the landing of the enemy.

After a very feeble reſiſtance, and conſiderable loſs, they took refuge on the continent with a facility, which would hardly have been granted them by a conqueror, who knew how to avail himſelf of the advantages he had obtained. The city of New-York too was abandoned by theſe new republicans with ſtill greater precipitation than they had evacuated Long-Iſland: and they filed off towards Kingſbridge, where they appeared

peared determined to make an obſtinate reſiſtance.

If the Engliſh had followed up their ſucceſs with that vivacity which circumſtances demanded, the new-raiſed troops which had oppoſed them had infallibly been diſperſed, or reduced to the neceſſity of laying down their arms. On the contrary, they were allowed ſix weeks to recover from their conſternation: nor did they abandon their intrenchments till the night of the firſt or ſecond of November, when the movements, which were making in their view, were ſufficient to convince them that their camp was upon the point of being attacked.

Their commander in chief, Waſhington, was unwilling to truſt the fate of his

his country to an action, which might and naturally would have terminated to the prejudice of thoſe important intereſts which had been committed to him. He knew, that delays, ever favourable to a native, are ever fatal to a ſtranger. This conviction determined him to retire to the Jerſeys with a deſign of protracting the war. Favoured both by the inclemency of the ſeaſon, by his knowledge of the country, and by the nature of the ground, which compenſated in ſome meaſure for the want of diſcipline, he had reaſon to flatter himſelf, that he ſhould be able to covet the greateſt part of this fertile province, and keep the enemy at a diſtance from Penſylvania. In a moment, however, he ſees his colours abandoned by the ſoldiers, whoſe engagement, at the end of ſix, and even

at

at the end of three months, had expired: and of an army of twenty-five thouſand men, there ſcarce remained two thouſand five hundred, with which he was fortunate enough to retire beyond the Delawar.

Without loſing a moment, the King's troops ought to have paſſed the river in purſuit of this handful of fugitives, and have put them totally to the rout. If the five thouſand men, deſtined for the conqueſt of Rhode-Iſland, had gone up the river in the tranſports they were aboard of, the junction of the two corps might have been effected without oppoſition even in Philadelphia itſelf, and the new republic had been ſtifled in that important and celebrated city which gave it birth.

At

At this time, perhaps, reproaches were caſt on the Engliſh general for being timid and too circumſpect in the operations of the compaign. Certain it is, however, that he was raſh enough in the diſtribution of his winter-cantonments. They were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as if there remained not in America a ſingle individual, who had either inclination or power to moleſt them.

This preſumption encouraged the militia of Penſylvania, Maryland and Virgina, collected together and reunited for the ſupport of the common cauſe.

On the 25th of December they croſſed the Delaware, and fell accidentally upon Trenton, which was occupied by fifteen hundred

hundred of the twelve thouſand Heſſians, ſold in ſo baſe a manner, by their avaricious maſter, to the King of Great Britain. This corps was maſſacred, taken, or entirely diſperſed. Eight days after three Engliſh regiments were in like manner driven from Prince-town, but after having better ſupported their reputation than the foreign troops in their pay.

Theſe unexpected events reduced the enemies of America, in the Jerſeys, to neceſſity of confining their poſts to Amboy and Brunſwick, where yet they were exceedingly haraſſed during the remainder of the winter.

The effect of ſtrong paſſions, and of great dangers, is often to aſtoniſh the mind, and to throw it into that kind of torpor that deprives it of the uſe of its powers;

powers; by degrees it recovers and collects itſelf: all its faculties, ſuſpended for a moment, diſplay themſelves with redoubled vigour; every ſpring of action is awakened, and it feels its powers riſe at once to a level with the difficulties it has to encounter. In a great multitude there are always ſome who feel this immediate effect, which rapidly communicates itſelf to others. Such a revolution took place amongſt the confederate ſtates. It cauſed armed men to iſſue from all quarters.

It was very late before the campaign of 1777 was opened. The Engliſh army, in deſpair of penetrating into Penſylvania by way of the Jerſeys, at laſt embarked on the 23d of July, and by the bay of Cheſapeak, landed in a country which their generals may very juſtly be reproached

proached for not having invaded the year before. Their march is uninterrupted, till they reach Brandywine. There, on the 11th of September, they attack and beat the Americans, and arrive on the 30th at Philadelphia, which had been abandoned on the 25th by the Congreſs, and a few days later or ſooner by the greateſt number of the inhabitants.

This victory is attended with no conſequences. The conqueror ſees nothing around him but hatred and devaſtation. Pent up in a ſpace extremely circumſcribed, he meets with inſurmountable obſtacles in extending himſelf over an uncultivated country. Even his gold affords him not its uſual reſources in the neighbouring diſtricts, nor is there a poſſibility of any ſupplies, but what muſt neceſſarily croſs

the ſeas. The irkſomeneſs of an impriſonment of nine months duration, determined him to regain New York by way of the Jerſeys; and under the command of Clinton, ſucceſſor to Howe, this long and dangerous retreat was effected, without ſuſtaining ſo much loſs as a more experienced enemy would have occaſioned.

While the Engliſh were waſting away their time in Penſylvania, an important ſcene opens itſelf in the more northern part of America. In the month of May 1776, Carlton had driven the provincials out of Canada, and in October deſtroyed the armed ſloops which they had conſtructed on the Lake Champlain. This ſucceſs drew Burgoyne to Ticonderago, in the month of July in the following year. At his approach, a garriſon, conſiſting

ſiſting of four thouſand men, abandoned this important poſt, with the loſs of their rear-guard, their artillery, and amunition.

The Engliſh general was naturally preſumptuous. A weakneſs ſo extraordinary increaſed his arrogance. He had conceived the deſign of reuniting the troops of Canada with thoſe of New York by Hudſon's-bay. This project was bold and great. Had he ſucceeded he would have cut North America in two, and, perhaps, have ended the war. But, to have had ſucceſs, it would have been neceſſary, that whilſt one army was going down, the other ſhould have gone up the river. Having failed in this idea, Burgoyne ought to have ſeen, from the very firſt ſteps of it, that his enterpriſe was chimerical. At every march it be-

came more and more ſo. His communications grew more diſtant; his proviſions leſs abundant. The Americans, taking heart again, aſſembled from all parts round him. At length this unlucky body of men found themſelves caught, on the 13th of October, at Saratoga; and nations learned with aſtoniſhment, that ſix thouſand of the beſt diſciplined troops of the old hemiſphere, had laid down their arms before the huſbandmen of the new, conducted by the fortunate Gates. Thoſe who remembered that the Swedes, under Charles the Twelfth, till then invincible, had capitulated before the Ruſſians, yet uncivilized, did not accuſe the Engliſh troops, but only blamed the imprudence of their general.

This

This event, ſo deciſive in the opinion of our politicians, was of no greater conſequence than that with which other actions, leſs favourable to the American arms, had been attended. After three years of fighting, maſſacre, and devaſtation, the ſtate of things was ſcarcely changed from what it had been a fortnight after the commencement of hoſtilities. Let us endeavour to diſcover the cauſes of ſo ſtrange a ſingularity.

[*Why the Engliſh did not ſucceed in bringing the confederate provinces to ſubmiſſion.*]

Great Britain, accuſtomed to ſtorms at home, ſaw not at firſt all the danger there might be in the tempeſt which was riſing in her remote poſſeſſions. For a long time her troops had been inſulted at Boſton; an authority, independent of

hers, had been formed in the province of Maſſachuſet. The other colonies were making diſpoſitions to follow this example, had not the adminiſtration taken thoſe great objects into their ſerious conſideration. When they were laid before parliament, both houſes were filled with clamour; and much declamation followed, after much declamation that had gone before. The ſenate of the nation decreed at laſt, that the country which was rebellious to its decrees, ſhould by force be made obedient: but this violent reſolution was executed with the ſlowneſs too frequent in ſtates of freedom.

England thought, in general, that coaſts without defence, that countries entirely open, could not reſiſt her fleets and armies. It did not appear to her that

that this expedition could be of ſufficient duration to give time to the peaceful huſbandmen of America to learn the art of war. It was forgotten that the climate, the rivers, the defiles, the ſwamps, the want of proviſion, in proportion as advances were made into the country, and an infinity of other natural obſtructions, militating againſt a rapid progreſs in a region three-fourths uncultivated, ſhould have made a part of the calculation.

Succeſs was ſtill more retarded by the influence of moral cauſes.

Great Britain is the region of party. Her kings have generally ſeemed to be well enough convinced of the neceſſity of leaving public affairs to the management of the prevailing faction, by which

they were conducted commonly with intelligence and with vigour, becauſe the principal agents of which it was compoſed were animated by a common intereſt. Then, to public ſpirit, which reigns more in England than in any other government of Europe, was added the power of a faction, and that ſpirit of party which moves men's minds ſo powerfully, becauſe it is always the effect of paſſion. To rid himſelf of this reſtraint, George the Third compoſed his council of detached, unconnected members. This innovation was not attended with any very great inconveniencies, as long as events rolled round in their common courſe. But as ſoon as a war with America had complicated a machine, which, was not before too ſimple, it was perceived that it had neither that ſtrength,

nor

nor that union, which are ſo neceſſary for the execution of great affairs. The wheels, too far aſunder, wanted, as we may ſay, a centre of motion, and a common impulſe. They went ſluggiſhly and precipitately, by turns. The adminiſtration too much reſembled that of an ordinary monarchy, when the principle of action proceeds not from the head of an intelligent and active monarch, who brings together all the ſprings under his own hand. There was no longer any integrity or wholeneſs in what was undertaken, nor was there more of it in what was executed.

A miniſtry, without harmony and concord, was expoſed to the inceſſantly renewed attacks of a body of enemies, united, cloſe, and firm. Its reſolutions, be they what they would, were ſure to

be combated by reaſoning or by ridicule. It was reproached for having been ſevere with the diſtant members of the ſtate, as it would have been reproached for having been too tender to them. Even they, who in parliament were the moſt outrageous againſt the treatment which had been ſhewn to the Americans; they who moſt encouraged them to reſiſtance; they who, perhaps, ſecretly ſent them ſuccour, were as averſe to their independence as they very miniſters whom they laboured, without ceaſing, to remove or vilify. Could the oppoſition have ſucceeded in diſguſting the king with his confidents, or have obtained the ſacrifice of them by the cry of the nation, the project of ſubjugating America had ſtill been followed, but with more dignity, more force, and perhaps with meaſures better planned. As the reduction

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of the revolted provinces was not to be their work, they rather wiſhed that this immenſe part of the Britiſh empire might be ſeparated from it, than that it ſhould be reunited to it by any other hands than theirs.

The activity of the generals repaired not the vice of theſe contrarieties, and the delays in conſequence. They indulged the ſoldier with too long repoſe; they employed in meditating, the time for acting; they approached new-raiſed men with the precaution they would have taken before veteran troops. They Engliſh, who have ſo much impetuoſity in party, are of a cool and calm character in other things. They are to be agitated but by violent paſſions. When this ſpring is wanting, they move ſlow enough to count their ſteps. Then they

they govern themſelves by the temper of their mind, which, in general, if we except the arts of imagination and taſte, is, in every thing elſe, methodical and wiſe. In war, their valour never loſes ſight of principles, or leaves much to chance. Rarely do they leave, either on their flanks, or in their rear, any thing which may give them trouble. This ſyſtem has its advantages, particularly in a cloſe and narrow country, in a country ſet thick with ſtrong holds and fortified towns. But in the preſent circumſtances, and upon the vaſt continent of America, againſt a people who ſhould not have had time allowed them for their being fortified, or inured to war, the perfection of the art, perhaps, had been to have forgot it, and to ſubſtitute, in its ſtead, the rapid and impetuous march, and the mighty darings

which

which at once aſtoniſh, ſtrike, and overcome. It was in the firſt moments, above all, that it would have been neceſſary to impreſs upon the Americans, not the terror of ſuch ravages as affect a people, armed for their liberty, more with indignation than with fear; but that dread which is ſtruck from a ſuperiority of talents and of arms, and which a warlike people, of the old world, ſhould naturally be ſuppoſed to carry to the new. The confidence of victory had ſoon been victory itſelf. But by too much circumſpection, by their too ſervile attachment to rules and principles, ſkilful leaders failed of rendering to their country the ſervice it expected from them, and which it was juſtified in expecting.

The troops, on their ſide, did not

preſs

preſs their commanders to lead them on. They were juſt come from a country, where the cauſe which had ſent them acroſs the ocean, made no impreſſion. It was, in the eyes of the people, but a broil which could not be of any conſequence. They confounded the debates it occaſioned in parliament with other debates, often of ſmall importance. It was not talked of; or if ſome perſons entertained themſelves with it, they were not more earneſt about it than about thoſe pieces of news, which, in great cities, occupy the idleneſs of every day. The indifference of the nation had communicated itſelf to the defenders of its rights. They would even have been afraid, perhaps, to gain too deciſive advantages over countrymen, who had taken arms but to keep themſelves from chains. In all the monarchies of Europe,

rope, the ſoldier is but an inſtrument of deſpotiſm, and has its diſpoſition. He looks upon himſelf as belonging to the throne, and not to the country; and a hundred thouſand armed men, are but a hundred thouſand diſciplined and formidable ſlaves. The habit even of exerciſing the empire of force, that empire to which all gives way, contributes to extinguiſh in them every ſpark of the love of liberty. At length, the military government and ſubordination, which moves thouſands of arms by a ſingle voice, which permits no aſking, nor ſeeing, nor judging, nor thinking; and, at the firſt ſignal, makes it a law to kill or die, completes the work of changing theſe ſentiments into principles, which make what may be called the morals of their ſtate. It is not ſo in England. The influence of the conſtitution is ſo great,

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that it extends itſelf even to the troops. There, a man is a citizen before he is a ſoldier. Public opinion, conforming itſelf to the conſtitution, honours one, and lightly regards the other, of theſe titles. Thus we ſee by the hiſtory of the revolutions and tempeſt by which that turbulent iſland has been torn, that the Engliſh ſoldier, though enliſted for life, preſerves for political liberty a paſſion, of which an idea is not eaſily to be formed in our countries of ſlaves.

How ſhould the ardour which was wanting in the Britiſh troops have animated the Heſſians, the Brunſwickers, and the other Germans ranking under the ſame banners, all equally diſcontented with the princes who had ſold them, diſcontented with the ſovereign who had bought them, diſcontented with the nation

tion which paid their wages, and diſcontented with their comrades, who treated their mercenarineſs with contempt? Beſides, they had alſo brothers in the enemy's camp, to whom they dreaded to give death, and from whoſe hand a wound would have grieved them with a double pain.

The ſpirit of the Engliſh army had been altered too, in conſequence of a revolution in the manners of their country, which had taken place about fifteen or eighteen years before. The ſucceſſes of the laſt war; the extenſion which the peace had given to commerce; the great acquiſitions made in the Eaſt-Indies: all theſe means of fortune had, without interruption, accumulated in Great Britain prodigious riches. Theſe riches kindled the deſire of new enjoyments.

ments. The great went to acquire them in foreign countries, and, above all, in France; and brought home the poiſon to their country. From the higher conditions, it flowed down into all the claſſes, even to the loweſt. To a character of plainneſs, ſimplicity, reſerve, and haughtineſs, ſucceeded a taſte for exterior ſhew, for diſſipation, gallantry, and what is called politeneſs. Travellers who had formerly viſited this iſland ſo renowned, thought themſelves in another climate. The contagion had ſpread to the troops. They carried with them to the new hemiſphere the paſſion which they had contracted in the old, for gaming, for ſoft accommodation, and good living. In departing from their coaſt, they ſhould have renounced the ſuperfluities of which they were enamoured. This taſte for luxury,

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this ardour, ſo much the more violent as it was new, did not encourage them to purſue, into the interior part of the country, an enemy very ready to plunge into it for ſhelter. Ye new politicians who advance with ſo much confidence that manners have no influence on the fate on nations, that, with regard to them, the meaſure of greatneſs is that of riches; that the pleaſures of peace and the voluptuouſneſs of the citizen cannot weaken the effect of thoſe great machines called armies, and of which the European diſcipline has, according to your account, ſo perfected the infallible and tremendous operations: you, who to ſupport your opinion, muſt turn away your eyes from the aſhes of Carthage and the ruins of Rome, upon the recital I am making to you, ſuſpend your judgment, and believe it poſſible

that

that there may be opportunities of ſucceſs which are loſt by luxury. Believe, that, even to courageous troops, indedenpence on wants has been often the chief cauſe of conqueſt. It is too eaſy perhaps to brave only death. For nations corrupted by opulence a ſeverer trial is reſerved, that of ſupporting the loſs of their pleaſures.

Add to all theſe reaſons, that the means of war ſeldom arrived, acroſs ſuch a length of ſea, in the convenient ſeaſon for action. Add, that the councils of George the Third were wiſely determined to have too much influence in military operations which were to be executed at ſuch a diſtance from them; and you will know the greateſt part of the obſtacles by which the ruinous efforts of the mother-country againſt the

the freedom of her colonies were oppoſed.

[*Why the confederate provinces did not ſucceed in driving the Engliſh from the continent of America.*]

But how happened it that America did not herſelf repulſe from her ſhores theſe Europeans who were bringing to her chains or death?

This new world was defended by regular troops, which at firſt had been enliſted but for three or ſix months, and afterwards for three years, or as long as hoſtilities might continue. It defended by citizens who took the field only when their particular province was invaded or menaced. Neither this army always on foot, nor this militia caſually aſſembled, had a military turn. They were farmers, traders, lawyers,

exerciſed

exerciſed only in the arts of peace, and conducted to danger by guides as little verſed as their ſubalterns in the very complicated ſcience of war. In this ſtate of things, what hope could they have of meaſuring themſelves with advantage againſt veterans in diſcipline, formed to evolutions, inſtructed in tactics, and abundantly provided with all the inſtruments neceſſary to a vigorous attack, to an obſtinate defence?

Enthuſiaſm alone might have ſurmounted theſe difficulties: but did there in reality exiſt more enthuſiaſm in the colonies than in the mother-country?

The general opinion in England, was, that the parliament had eſſentially the right of taxing every country which made a part of the Britiſh empire. Perhaps,

haps, in the beginning of the troubles, not a hundred individuals were to be found who would have called this authority in queſtion. Yet no anger was excited by the refuſal of the Americans to acknowledge it. No hatred was borne towards them, even after they had taken arms in ſupport of their pretenſions. As the labours of the people in the interior part of the kingdom were not affected by it, as the ſtorm murmured but at diſtance, every one was peaceably occupied with his buſineſs, or gave himſelf up without diſturbance to his pleaſures. They all waited for the concluſion of the drama without impatience, as if already certain of what was to be exhibited in the unravelling of the plot.

The ferment muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſhewn itſelf at firſt much greater in the

new

new hemiſphere than the old. It is ever the odious name of tyranny, or the grateful ſound of independance, pronounced to nations without communicating to them that warmth which produces motion? But did that warmth ſuſtain itſelf? Had the firſt vehemence of imagination laſted, muſt not the repreſſing of exceſſes have occupied the attention of the new authority? But ſo far from having cauſe to withhold courage, it had cowardice to purſue. It was ſeen to puniſh deſertion with death, ſtaining the ſtandard of liberty with blood. It was ſeen to refuſe admitting of an exchange of priſoners, for fear of augmenting the inclination of the troops to ſurrender at the firſt ſummons. It was ſeen reduced to the neceſſity of erecting tribunals for the proſecution of the generals or their lieu-

tenants

tenants who ſhould too eaſily give up the poſts which their vigilance was to guard. It is true, that a hoary patriot, of four-ſcore years, who was deſired to return to his fire-ſide, cried out, *My death will be of uſe; I ſhall ſhield with my body a younger man.* It is true, that Putnam ſaid to a royaliſt his priſoner, *return to thy commander, and if he aſks thee how many troops I have, tell him that I have enough; that even if he ſhould beat them, I ſhould have ſtill enough; and that he will find, in the event, that I have too many for him and for the tyrants whom he ſerves.* Theſe ſentiments were heroic, but they were rare; and they became leſs common every day.

The intoxication was never general; and it could be but momentaneous. None of thoſe energetic cauſes, which

have produced ſo many revolutions upon the globe, exiſted in North America. Neither religion nor laws had there been outraged. The blood of martyrs or patriots had not there ſtreamed from ſcaffolds. Morals had not been there inſulted. Manners, cuſtoms, habits, no object dear to nations had there been the ſport of ridicule. Arbitrary power had not there torn any inhabitant from the arms of his family and his friends, to drag him to a dreary dungeon. Public order had not been there inverted. The principles of adminiſtration had not been changed there; and the maxims of government had there always remained the ſame. The whole queſtion was reduced to the knowing whether the mother-country had, or had not, the right to lay directly, or indirectly, a ſlight tax upon the

the colonies: for the accumulated grievances in the manifeſto were valid only in conſequence of this leading grievance. This, almoſt metaphyſical, queſtion was ſcarcely of ſufficient importance to cauſe the multitude to riſe, or at leaſt to intereſt them ſtrongly in a quarrel for which they ſaw their land deprived of the hands deſtined to its cultivation, their harveſts laid waſte, their fields covered with the dead bodies of their kindred, or ſtained with their own blood. To theſe calamities, the work of the royal troops upon the coaſt, were ſoon added more inſupportable ones in the heart of the country.

Never had the reſtleſſneſs of the courts of London and Verſailles diſturbed the tranquillity of North America but both theſe powers brought ſome of the migra-

tory clans in this part of the new hemiſphere to partake in their ſanguinary ſtrife. Inſtructed by experience in the weight which theſe hordes could add to the ſcale, the Engliſh and the coloniſts were equally reſolved to employ them for their mutual deſtruction.

Carleton tried, firſt, to arm theſe barbarous hands in Canada. "It is the "diſpute," ſaid they in anſwer to his ſolicitations, "of a father with his chil-"dren; we do not think it right for us "to enter into this domeſtic ſquabble." "—But if the rebels ſhould come to at-"tack this province, would not you "help us to drive them back?"—"Ever "ſince the peace the hatchet of war has "been buried forty fathoms deep."—"—You would certainly find it, if you "were to dig for it."—"The helve of

"it

" it is rotten, and we cannot make any " uſe of it".

The United States were not more fortunate. " We have heard talk of ſome " differences that have happened between " Old and New England (ſaid the tribe " of the Oneidas to their deputies) but " we ſhall never take a part in ſuch a- " trocious diviſions. War between bre- " thren is a ſtrange and a new thing in " theſe regions. Our traditions have left " us no example of this nature. Sup- " preſs your mad hatred; and may a " benevolent ſun diſperſe the black va- " pour in which you are involved!"

The Maſphies alone ſeemed to intereſt themſelves in the cauſe of the Americans. " There, (ſaid theſe good ſa- " vages to them) there's ſixteen ſhillings

" for you. 'Tis all that we have. We " thought to have bought ſome rum " with it; we'll drink water. We'll go " a hunting. If any beaſts fall by our " arrows, we'll ſell their ſkins, and bring " you the money."

But in time the very active agents of Great Britain ſucceeded in conciliating to it many nations of theſe aborigines. Its intereſts were preferred to thoſe of its enemies, as well becauſe the remoter diſtance had prevented the ſavages from having received ſo many outrages from it as from their proud neighbours, as becauſe it could and would better pay the ſervices which might be rendered to its cauſe. Under its banners, theſe allies, whoſe characteriſtic fierceneſs knew no reſtraint, did a hundred times more damage to the coloniſts ſettled near the moun-

mountains, than had been ſuffered, from the royal troops, by thoſe of their fellow-citizens whom a happier deſtiny had fixed upon the confines of the ocean.

Theſe calamities attacked but a more or leſs conſiderable number of the members of the United States, who ſoon after were all, collectively, afflicted by an inward hurt.

The metals, which, throughout the whole globe, repreſent all the objects of commerce, had, in this part of the new world, never been abundant. The ſmall quantity of them which had been ſeen there, diſappeared even at the commencement of hoſtilities. To theſe ſigns univerſally agreed upon, were ſubſtituted ſigns peculiar to theſe provinces. Paper replaced ſilver and gold. In order to give

ſome dignity to the new pledge, it was adorned with emblems, which might continually remind the people of the greatneſs of their undertaking, of the ineſtimable price of liberty, and of the neceſſity of a perſeverance ſuperior to all ſufferings. The artifice did not ſucceed. Theſe ideal riches were rejected. The more the multiplication of them was urged by want, the greater did their depreciation grow. The congreſs was indignant at the affronts given to its money, and declared all thoſe to be traitors to their country who ſhould not receive it as they would have received gold itſelf.

Did not this body know, that prepoſſeſſions are no more to be controled than feelings are? Did it not perceive, that in the preſent criſis every rational man

man would be afraid of expoſing his fortune? Did it not ſee, that at the beginning of a republic it permitted to itſelf the exerciſe of ſuch acts of deſpotiſm as are unknown even in the countries which are moulded to, and become familiar with, ſervitude and oppreſſion? Could it pretend that it did not puniſh a want of confidence with the pains which would have been ſcarcely merited by revolt and treaſon? Of all this was the congreſs well aware. But it had no choice of means. Its deſpiſed and deſpicable ſcraps of paper were actually thirty times below their original value, when more of them were ordered to be made. On the 13th of September, 1779, there was of this paper money, amongſt the public, to the amount of £35,544,155. The ſtate owed moreover £8,385,356, without

reckoning the particular debts of ſingle provinces.

The people had no amends for this domeſtic ſcourge, as it might be called, by an eaſy communication with all the other parts of the world. Great Britain had intercepted their navigation with Europe, with the Weſt Indies, with all the latitudes which their veſſels covered. Then, they ſaid to the univerſe, "It is the Engliſh name which "makes us odious; we ſolemnly ab-"jure it. All men are our brethren. "We are the friends of all nations. "Every flag may, without fear of in-"ſult, ſhew itſelf upon our coaſts, fre-"quent our ports." An invitation, ſo ſeducing in appearance, was not complied with. Thoſe ſtates which are truly commercial ones, knowing that

North

North America had been reduced to contract debts at the epoch even of her greateſt proſperity, thought wiſely that in her preſent diſtreſs ſhe would be able to pay but very little for what might be carried to her. The French alone, who dare every thing, dared to brave the inconveniences of this new connection. But by the judicious vigilance of Admiral Lord Howe, the greateſt part of the ſhips which they ſent out were taken before they arrived at the places of their deſtination, and the others at their departure from the American coaſts. Of many hundreds of veſſels which ſailed from France, but twenty-five or thirty returned back to it, and even thoſe brought no profit, or very little, to their owners.

A multitude of privations, added to ſo many

many other misfortunes, might make the Americans regret their former tranquillity, and incline them to an accommodation with England. In vain had the people been bound to the new government by the ſacredneſs of oaths and the influence of religion. In vain had endeavours been uſed to convince them that it was impoſſible to treat ſafely with a country in which one parliament might overturn what ſhould have been eſtabliſhed by another. In vain had they been threatened with the eternal reſentment of an exaſperated and vindictive enemy. It was poſſible that theſe diſtant troubles might not be balanced by the weight of preſent evils.

So thought the Britiſh miniſtry, when they ſent to the new-world public agents,

agents, authorized to offer every thing except independence to theſe very Americans, from whom they had two years before exacted an unconditional ſubmiſſion. It is not improbable but that by this plan of conciliation, a few months ſooner, ſome effect might have been produced. But at the period at which it was propoſed by the Court of London, it was rejected with diſdain, becauſe this meaſure appeared but as an argument of fear and weakneſs. The people were already re-aſſured. The congreſs, the generals, the troops, the bold and ſkilful men who in each colony had poſſeſſed themſelves of the authority; every thing had recovered its firſt ſpirit. This was the effect of a treaty of friendſhip and commerce between the United States and the Court

of

of Verſailles, ſigned the 6th of February, 1778.

[*France acknowledges the independence of the United States. This meaſure occaſions the war between this crown and that of England*]

If the Britiſh miniſtry had reflected upon it, they would have comprehended that the ſame delirium which was drawing them to attack their colonies was reducing them to the neceſſity of declaring war in the ſame inſtant againſt France. Then prevailed in the councils of this crown the circumſpection which muſt always be inſpired by a new reign. Then the finances were ſtill in the confuſion into which they had been plunged by a madneſs of twenty years. Then the decayed condition of the navy was ſuch

ſuch as filled every citizen with diſquiet. Then Spain, already fatigued with her extravagant expedition of Algiers, found herſelf in embarraſſments which would not have permitted her to run to the ſuccour of her ally. And then might England, without raſhneſs, have promiſed herſelf ſucceſs againſt the moſt powerful of her enemies, and to intimidate America by victories gained or conqueſts made near home. The importance that it was of, for this crown to take away from its rebellious ſubjects the only ſupport of which they might be aſſured, would have diminiſhed the indignation inſpired by a violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties.

George the third ſaw nothing of all this. The obſcure ſuccours which the Court of Verſailles ſent to the provinces armed

armed for the defence of their rights, did not open his eyes. The dock-yards of France were filling with ſhip-wrights. Her arſenals were filling with artillery. Scarcely was there room remaining in her magazines for more naval ſtores. Her ports preſented the moſt menacing appearance; and this ſtrange blindneſs ſtill continued. To awaken the Court of St. James's from its lethargy, it was neceſſary that Lewis the Sixteenth ſhould ſignify to it, on the 14th of March, that he had acknowledged the independence of the United States.

This ſignification was a declaration of war. It was impoſſible that a nation, more accuſtomed to give provocation than receive it, could patiently look on, whilſt another nation was looſening its ſubjects from their bonds of allegiance,

and

and raiſing them up with much parade to the rank of ſovereign powers. All Europe foreſaw that two ſtates, in rival-ſhip for ages, were about to tinge the waters of the ocean with their blood, and again play that dreadful game, in which public proſperities will never compenſate for particular diſaſters. They in in whom ambition had not extinguiſhed all benevolence for their fellow-creatures, deplored beforehand the calamities, which, in either hemiſphere, were ready to fall upon the human race.

The bloody ſcene, notwithſtanding, did not open yet; and this delay gave credulity a ground of hope, that peace would ſtill continue. It was not known that a fleet, which had ſailed from Toulon, was commiſſioned to attack the Engliſh in North America. It was not known

known that orders had been diſpatched from London to drive the French from the Eaſt Indies. Without being initiated in thoſe myſteries of perfidy, which inſidious politics are arrived at regarding as great ſtrokes of ſtate, judicious men ſuppoſed that hoſtilities muſt be inevitable, and on the point of taking place, even in our ocean. This event, which had been foreſeen, was brought on by the fight of two frigates, on the 17th of June, 1778.

Here our taſk becomes more and more difficult. Our ſole object is to be uſeful, and to be true. Far be from us that ſpirit of party which blinds and degrades thoſe who are the conductors, and thoſe who aſpire to be the inſtructors, of mankind. Our wiſh is for our country; our homage is to juſtice. We honour virtue,

virtue, in whatever place, in whatever form, ſhe is ſeen: the diſtinctions of condition and of nation cannot eſtrange us from her; and the man who is juſt and magnanimous is our countryman over all the world. If in the different events which paſs under our eyes, we blame with boldneſs what appears to us blame-worthy, we ſeek not the vain and ſorry pleaſure of caſting indiſcreet reproach. But we are ſpeaking to nations and to poſterity. We ought faithfully to tranſmit to them what may be influential on the public good. We ought to give them the hiſtory of errors, to teach them how they may be ſhunned. Should we dare to be traiterouſly wanting to ſo great a duty, we might, perhaps, flatter the generation which paſſeth away; but truth and juſtice, which are eternal, would impeach us to future generations,

who

who would read us with contempt, and pronounce not our name but with diſdain. In this long career we ſhall be juſt to thoſe who ſtill exiſt, as we have been to thoſe who exiſt no more. If, amongſt the men of power, there are any who are offended at this freedom, let us not fear to tell them, that we are but the organ of a ſupreme tribunal, which reaſon is erecting upon a baſis that cannot be ſhaken. There is no longer a government in Europe but ſhould ſtand in fear of its determinations. Public opinion, which is becoming more and more informed, and which nothing has power to arreſt or awe, has its eyes open upon nations and their courts. It penetrates into the cabinets where policy would lie hid. There it judges the depoſitaries of power, their weakneſſes and their paſſions; and, by the empire of genius and knowledge,

knowledge, raiſes itſelf, on all ſides, above the miniſters of kings, to incite or to reſtrain them. Woe to them who deſpiſe or brave it! This ſeeming courage is weakneſs in reality. Woe to them whoſe talents cannot arm them with a confidence to ſuſtain its look! Let ſuch, that they may once do juſtice, at leaſt to themſelves, lay down the burden too heavy for their feeble ſhoulders. They will ceaſe to expoſe themſelves and the nations they pretend to ſerve.

France began the war with invaluable advantages. The time, the place, the circumſtances; ſhe had choſen all. It was not till after ſhe had, at leiſure, made her preparations, till after ſhe had increaſed her power to the proper pitch, that ſhe ſhewed herſelf upon the field of battle. She had to combat but an enemy

my who was humbled, weakened, and diſcouraged by domeſtic feuds. The wiſhes of other nations were with her, againſt thoſe imperious maſters, or, as they were called, thoſe tyrants of the ocean.

Events ſeemed to correſpond to the deſire of Europe. The French officers, who had old humiliations to wipe away, performed brilliant actions, the remembrance of which will be of long duration. Great theoretic knowledge, and unſhaken courage, ſupplied what might be wanting in them from practice and experience. All the ſingle engagements, of ſhip to ſhip, did them the higheſt honour, and moſt of them terminated to their advantage. The Britiſh fleet ran ſtill greater danger than the iſolated veſſels. It was ſo roughly treated as to have

have cauſe to fear being wholly or partially deſtroyed; had not the French fleet, by which it was reduced, off Uſhant, to this almoſt deſpairing ſtate, been deſtined, from timid orders, from odious intrigues, from the weakneſs of its admirals, or from all theſe motives together, to quit the ſea and be the firſt to make for port.

In the intoxication of this, perhaps, unexpected ſucceſs, France ſeemed to loſe ſight of her deareſt intereſts. Her principal object ſhould have been to intercept the commerce of her enemies, cutting the double nerve of her ſtrength, their ſeamen and their wealth, and ſo ſap, at once, the two foundations of Engliſh greatneſs. Nothing was more eaſy for a power prepared a long while for hoſtilities, than to intercept fleets of merchant-

merchantmen, quite unprepared, and very feebly convoyed. This was not done. The immenſe riches expected by Great Britain, from all parts of the globe, entered peaceably into her harbours, without ſuffering the ſmalleſt diminution.

The commerce of France, on the contrary, was haraſſed in both the hemiſpheres, and every where intercepted. Her colonies ſaw raviſhed from them, on their very coaſts, ſubſiſtences, to welcome which they were reaching out their arms with all the eagerneſs of want; whilſt the mother-country was deprived of four millions ſterling, arrived almoſt in her ſight. This reverſe was not without a cauſe. Let us endeavour to diſcover it.

The

The French navy had been a long time unſucceſsful; and it was to the vice of its conſtitution that ſo many misfortunes had been aſcribed. Many attempts had been made to modify or change the regulations of it; but theſe innovations, good or bad, were always repelled with a more or leſs ſtrongly marked diſdain. At length its admirals dictated themſelves, in 1776, a diſpoſition, which rendering them abſolute maſters of the roads or anchoring-places, of the arſenals, of the dock-yards, and the magazines, deſtroyed that mutual inſpectorſhip which Lewis the Fourteenth thought it was right he ſhould eſtabliſh between the military officers and thoſe of the adminiſtration. From that time there was no longer any reſponſibility, regulation, or œconomy in the ports.

Every thing there fell into diſorder and confuſion.

The new plan had an influence that was ſtill more unhappy. Till this period it was the miniſtry who had directed the naval operations towards the end aimed at by their politics. This authority paſſed, perhaps almoſt without being perceived, to thoſe who were to execute theſe operations, which took inſenſibly a tincture from their prejudices. Theſe prejudices inclined them to think, that it was not in heavily and laborioufly convoying the ſhips of their nation, or in remaining out upon difficult cruizes, to ſurprize or deſtroy thoſe of the enemy's nation, that fame was to be acquired. This double duty, therefore, was entirely neglected, or very ill performed, in conſequence of the opinion common

common at Breſt, that ſuch a ſervice had nothing noble in it, and led not to any kind of glory.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this prejudice is a very odd one, and quite contrary to all the laws of ſociety. What can be ſuppoſed to have been the deſign of ſtates in inſtituting this military force deſtined to ſcour the ſeas? Was it only to procure promotions for thoſe who command or ſerve? Only to give them opportunities of exerciſing a valour uſeleſs to every body but themſelves? Only to ſtain red another element with bloody battles? No, undoubtedly. Fleets of war upon the ocean, are what fortreſſes and ramparts are for inhabitants of cities; what the national armies are for provinces expoſed to incurſions of the foe. There are ſome ſorts of property attached to the ſoil;

there are others which are created, tranſported by commerce, and, as they may be called, wandering on the ocean. Both theſe ſorts of property want defenders. Warriors, that is your function. What would be ſaid, if the land-forces ſhould refuſe to protect the inhabitants of cities, the cultivaters of fields, and to drive back the fire threatened to the harveſt? Naval Officers, you think yourſelves debaſed by convoying and protecting commerce. But if commerce is to be no more protected, what will become of the riches of the ſtate, of which, without doubt, you expect a part, in recompence of your ſervice? What will become of your own property, in the revenue of your land, which commerce and the circulation of wealth chiefly contribute to make fruitful? You think yourſelves

debaſed.

debaſed. What, debaſed in making your-ſelf uſeful to your countrymen! And what are all the orders in the ſtate, to whom government has committed any portion of the public power, but protectors and defenders of your countrymen and their wealth? Your poſt is upon the ocean, as that of the magiſtrate upon the bench, that of the ſoldier in the camp, and that of the monarch himſelf upon the throne, where he commands from a higher ſtation but to take a wider ſurvey, and comprize, at one view, all thoſe who ſtand in need of his protection and defence. Know that glory is to be gleaned in every field on which a ſervice to your country can be performed. Know, that to preſerve is more glorious, as well as more bleſſed, than to deſtroy. In ancient Rome there were alſo admi-

rers of glory. Yet, there, the glory of having ſaved a ſingle citizen, was preferred to the glory of having ſlain a hoſt of foes. What, ſee you not that in ſaving the commercial ſhips, you ſave the fortune of the ſtate? Yes, your valour is ſplendid; it is known to Europe as well as to your country; but what boots it to your countrymen, that it has been diſplayed upon occaſions of eclat, that it has brought the ſhip of your enemy in tow, or blown its ruins wide upon the waves, if you have ſuffered to periſh, or to be taken, the ſhips which bear your country's riches; if in the very port, which you triumphantly re-enter, a thouſand deſolate families deplore their fortunes loſt? On your landing, inſtead of hearing the ſhouts of victory, you will be received with ſilence and dejection; and your exploits will be deſtined but to ſwell the recital of a court-

court-gazette, and thoſe public papers, which, in amuſing idleneſs, give glory but for a day, when that glory is not graven upon the hearts of your fellow-citizens, by the remembrance of real utility to the common good.

The maxims ſacred at Portſmouth were very different. There was felt, there was reſpected, the dignity of commerce. There, it was both a duty and an honour to defend it; and events have decided on which ſide the naval officers had the juſteſt ideas of their function.

Great Britain had juſt experienced a very humiliating reverſe in the new world, and a more powerful enemy threatened her with greater diſaſters in the old. This alarming ſituation filled all minds with doubtfulneſs and diſtruſt.

The national riches arrive. Thoſe of the rival power add to the enormous maſs; and inſtantly public credit is re-animated; hope ſprings up again, and this people, who were contemptuouſly thought to be brought down, reſume, and ſuſtain, their uſual proweſs and their uſual pride.

The ports of France, on the contrary, are filled with groans. A ſhameful and ruinous inaction ſucceeded to an activity which contributed to their fame and riches. The indignation of the merchants communicated itſelf to all the nation. The firſt moments of ſucceſs are moments of intoxication, in which faults ſeem to be juſtified as well as hid. But misfortune gives more ſeverity to judgment. The nation then obſerves more nearly thoſe who govern, and loudly

loudly calls for an account of the employment of the power and authority which have been committed to them. The councils of Lewis the Sixteenth are reproached, for having wounded the majeſty of the firſt power on the globe, in diſavowing, to the face of the univerſe, the ſuccours which were ſent continually to the Americans in a clandeſtine manner. They are reproached, for having, by a miniſterial intrigue, or, by the aſcendancy of ſome obſcure agents, engaged the nation in a diſaſtrous war, whilſt they ſhould have been occupied in putting the ſprings of government again in order, in healing the tedious wounds of a reign, of which the latter half was divided between depredation and ſhame, between the baſeneſs of vice and the convulſions of deſpotiſm. They are reproached, for having pro-

voked the conteſt by inſidious politics, for having deſcended to wrap themſelves round with guile, in diſcourſes unworthy of France; for having employed with England the language of a timid audacity, which ſeems to diſown and contradict, the projects which are formed, and the ſentiments which are uppermoſt, in the heart; a language which can only debaſe him from whom it proceeds, without deceiving him to whom it is addreſſed; and, whilſt it brings diſhonour, can make that diſhonour of no uſe either to the miniſter or to the ſtate. How much nobler had it been to ſay, with all the frankneſs of dignity; "Engliſhmen, you have abuſed your vic-"tories. Now is the moment for you to "ſhew juſtice; or it ſhall be that of ven-"geance. Europe is weary of ſuffering ty-"rants. She re-enters at length upon her "rights. Henceforward, equality or war.

"Chuſe."

"Chuſe." It is thus that they would have been talked to by that Richelieu, whom every citizen, it is true, ſhould hate, becauſe he was an inhuman butcher, and, that he might reign deſpotic, murdered his enemies with the hangman's axe; but whom, as a miniſter, the nation is bound to honour, as it was he who firſt ſhewed France her dignity, and gave her, amongſt the ſtates of Europe, the air which became her power. It is thus that they would have been talked to by that Lewis, who, for forty years together, knew how to be worthy of the age to which he gave a name, who mixed greatneſs with his very faults, who never, even in adverſity and abaſement, degraded his people or himſelf. Ah, for governing a great nation, a great character is requiſite. There is no fitneſs for it in thoſe minds which

which are indifferent and cold from levity, to which abſolute authority is but as it were a kind of laſt amuſement, which careleſsly leave great intereſts floating at the caprice of chance, and are more occupied in preſerving than employing power. Why, it is aſked again, why did men, who hold in their hands all the authority of the ſtate, and have but to command in order to be obeyed, why did they ſuffer themſelves to be prevented, in all ſeas, by an enemy whoſe conſtitution muſt of neceſſity cauſe ſlowneſs in putting their meaſures in execution? Why did they, by an inconſiderate treaty, tie themſelves down to conditions with the congreſs, which they might themſelves have held in dependence, by ample and regular ſupplies? Why, in ſhort, did they not ſtrengthen and confirm the revolution,

by

by keeping always, on the northern coaſts of the new world, a ſquadron which might protect the colonies, and at the ſame time, make our alliance to be reſpected? But Europe, who has her eyes fixed upon us, ſees a great deſign, and no concerted meaſures; ſees, in our arſenals and our ports, immenſe preparations, and no execution; ſees menacing fleets fitted out, and the pompous expence of them rendered almoſt uſeleſs; ſees ſpirit and valour in ſubalterns, irreſolution and timidity in chiefs; ſees whatever proclaims, on one hand, the ſtrength and the awe commanding power of a great people, and, on the other, the flackneſs and weakneſs inſeparable from its character and views. It is by this ſtriking contradiction between our projects and their execution, between our means and their direction, that

that the genius of England ſtunned for a moment, has reſummed his vigour; and it is even now a problem for Europe to reſolve, if, in declaring for America, we have not ourſelves revived and advanced the Engliſh power.

Such are the complaints with which all parts of the kingdom ring, and which we are not afraid to collect together here, and lay before the eyes of authority, if it deigns to read or hear them.

In ſhort, philoſophy, whoſe firſt ſentiment is the deſire to ſee all governments juſt and all people happy, in caſting her eyes upon this alliance of a monarchy with a people who are defending their liberty, is curious to know its motive. She ſees at once, too clearly, that the happineſs of mankind has no part in it.

She

She thinks that if the Court of Verſailles had been determined by the love of juſtice, it would have ſettled in the firſt article of its agreement with America, *that all oppreſſed people have the right of reſiſting their oppreſſors.* But this maxim, which forms one of the laws of England; which a king of Hungary was great enough, when he was aſcending the throne, to make one of the conſtitutions of the ſtate; which was adopted by one of the greateſt princes who reigned over the world, Trajan, when he ſaid, before an aſſembly of the Roman people, to the firſt officer of the empire, in preſenting him with a drawn ſword, according to cuſtom upon inveſting him with his charge, *Uſe it for me, if I continue juſt; againſt me, if I become tyrannical.* This maxim is too foreign for our feeble and corrupted governments,

vernments, in which the ſuffering patiently is ſo much become a duty, that the ſufferer ought to deprecate a ſenſation of his miſery, leſt it be puniſhed as a crime.

But the moſt bitter complaints are directed above all to Spain. She is blamed for her blindneſs, her wavering, her tardineſs, and ſometimes even for her infidelity: all which accuſations are ill-founded.

Some politicians imagined, in ſeeing France enagage herſelf without neceſſity in a naval war, that this crown ſuppoſed itſelf powerful enough to divide the Britiſh domain, without ſharing with an ally the honour of this important revolution. We ſhall not examine whether the ſpirit which then reigned in the cabinet

binet of Verſailles authoriſed this conjecture. It is now known that this crown, which from the very beginning of the troubles had ſent ſecret ſuccour to the Americans, was watching for the propitious moment of declaring openly in their favour. The event of Saratoga appeared to it the moſt favourable conjuncture for propoſing to the Catholic king to make the cauſe a common one. Whether it were that this prince might then judge the liberty of the United States to be contrary to his intereſt; whether the reſolution might appear to him to be precipitate; or whether, in ſhort, other political objects might require all his attention, he did not agree to the propoſal. From his character it was ſuppoſed that repeated ſolicitation would be uſeleſs. After the firſt experiment, he was ſo little applied to about this great affair,

affair, that it was without his beng appriſed of it that the Court of Verſailles cauſed it to be ſignified at St. James's that it had acknowledged the independence of the confederate provinces.

In the mean time the land and ſea forces which Spain employed againſt the Portugueſe in the Brazils were returned home. The rich fleet which ſhe expected from Mexico was arrived in her ports. The treaſures which came to her from Peru and from her other poſſeſſions were ſecure. She was free from all inquietude, and miſtreſs of her motions, when ſhe aſpired to the glory of being a pacificator between the two hemiſpheres. Her mediation was accepted, as well by France, whoſe bold attempts had not been attended with the happy conſequences which ſhe had promiſed herſelf from

from them, as by England, who might fear the having an additional adverſary to contend with.

[*Spain, not having ſucceeded in reconciling England and France, declares for the latter power.*]

Charles the Third ſuſtained with dignity the great part he had to act. He awarded that, laying down their arms, each of the belligerant powers ſhould be maintained in the territories which it ſhould occupy at the time of the convention; that a congreſs ſhould be formed, in which the different pretenſions ſhould be diſcuſſed; and that no freſh hoſtilities ſhould commence till after the expiration of a twelve-month's notice.

This monarch was aware that this arrange-

arrangement gave to Great Britain a facility of being reconciled with her colonies, or at leaſt of making them purchaſe, by great advantages to her commerce, the ports which ſhe occupied in the midſt of them. He was aware that it muſt wound the dignity of the king his nephew, who had engaged to maintain the United States in the totality of their territory. But he would be juſt; and without forgetting all perſonal conſiderations one cannot be ſo.

This plan of conciliation was diſpleaſing to Verſailles, whoſe only conſolation was miniſtered by the hope that it would be rejected at London. This hope was not deceived. England could not reſolve upon acknowledging the Americans to be really independant; though they were not to be called to the conferences which

which were to have taken place; though France could not negotiate for them; though their intereſts were to have been taken care of ſolely by a mediator who was not bound to them by any treaty, and who, perhaps, at the bottom of his heart, was not deſirous of their proſperity; though her refuſal threatened her with an enemy the more.

It is in ſuch a circumſtance as this; it is in the time when noble pride elevates the ſoul ſuperior to all terror; when nothing is ſeen more dreadful than the ſhame of receiving the law, and when there is no doubt or heſitation which to chuſe between ruin and diſhonour; it is then, that the greatneſs of a nation is diſplayed. I acknowledge however that men, accuſtomed to judge of things by the event, call great and perilous reſolutions,

tions, heroiſm or madneſs, according to the good or bad ſucceſs with which they have been attended. If then I ſhould be aſked, what is the name which ſhall in years to come be given to the firmneſs, which was in this moment exhibited by the Engliſh, I ſhould anſwer that I do not know. But that which it deſerves, I know. I know that the annals of the world hold out to us but rarely, the auguſt and majeſtic ſpectacle of a nation, which chuſes rather to renounce its duration than its glory.

The Britiſh miniſtry had no ſooner given their determination, than the court of Madrid eſpouſed the quarrel of that of Verſailles, and conſequently that of the Americans. Spain had then ſixty-three ſhips of the line and ſix on the ſtocks. France had eighty of the line,

and

and eight upon the ſtocks. The United States had but twelve frigates; but a great number of privateers.

To all this united force England had to oppoſe but ninety-five ſhips of the line, with twenty-three upon the ſtocks. The ſixteen which were to be ſeen in her ports, over and above, were unfit for ſervice, and had been converted into priſons or hoſpitals. Inferior in inſtruments of war, ſhe was ſtill more ſo in means of all ſorts for their employment. Her domeſtic diſſentions ſtill weakened the reſources which remained. It is the nature of governments truly free to be agitated during peace. It is by this inteſtine motion that the ſpirits preſerve their energy and the continual remembrance of the nation's rights. But in war, all ferments ought to ceaſe,

all

all hatreds to be extinguiſhed, all intereſts to coaleſce and be mutually ſubſervient to the public good. It happened quite otherwiſe, at this time, in the Britiſh iſles. Never were there more violent diſſenſions. Never did contrary pretenſions ſhew themſelves in any circumſtance with leſs reſerve. The public good was by either faction audaciouſly trodden under foot. Thoſe houſes of parliament, in which the moſt important queſtions had formerly been diſcuſſed with eloquence, with dignity, and with power, now rung but with the clamours of rage, but with the groſſeſt inſults, but with altercations as hurtful as they were indecent. The few true friends of the nation who were remaining called loudly for another Pitt, for the miniſter who like him ſhould have *neither relations nor friends*; but this extraordinary man did

did not appear. And indeed it was pretty generally imagined that this people would now give way, notwithſtanding the high-ſpiritedneſs of its character, notwithſtanding the experience of its admirals, notwithſtanding the bravery of its ſeamen, notwithſtanding that energy which a free nation muſt acquire from vibrating with concuſſion.

But the empire of chance is a very wide one. Who knows in favour of which ſide the elements ſhall declare? By a guſt of wind, is a victory given or ſnatched away. The diſcharge of a gun diſconcerts a fleet by its admiral's death. Signals are not ſeen or heard; are not obeyed. Experience, valour, ſkill, are thwarted by ignorance, by jealouſy, by treachery, by an aſſurance of impunity. A fog covers contending navies, and ſe-

parates or confounds them. A tempeſt or a calm equally preſerves, or equally deſtroys. Forces are divided by the unequal celerity of ſhips. The propitious moment is miſſed, by a puſillanimity which lingers, or by raſhneſs which ruſhes on. Plans ſhall have been formed with wiſdom; but their ſucceſs ſhall fail for want of concert in the movements of execution. By an inconſiderate order of the court, what might have proved a proud day, is decided to diſhonour. Projects are changed by a miniſter's diſgrace or death. Is it poſſible that a ſtrict union ſhould long ſubſiſt amongſt confederates of characters ſo oppoſite, as the haſty, light, diſdainful Frenchman, the jealous, haughty, ſly, ſlow, circumſpective Spaniard, and the American, who is ſecretly ſnatching looks at the mother-country, and would

would rejoice, were they compatible with his independence, at the diſaſters of his allies? Will theſe nations long delay, whether they act ſeparately or conjointly, mutually to accuſe, complain, and be embroiled? Ought not their greateſt hope to be that multiplied ill-ſucceſſes may do no more than replunge them into that humiliating ſtate from which they endeavoured to emerge, and firmly fix the trident in the hand of England; whilſt a conſiderable defeat or two would bring down this ambitious people from ever ranking again amongſt the principal powers of the European world?

Who ſhall decide then, who can foreſee, the event? France and Spain united have powerful means to employ; England, the art of employing hers.

France and Spain have their treaſures; England, a great national credit. On one ſide, the multitude of men; on the other, the ſuperiority in the art of working ſhips, and, as it were, of ſubjecting the ſea in fighting. Here, impetuoſity and valour; there, valour and experience. In one party, the activity which abſolute monarchy gives to deſigns; in the other, the vigour and elaſticity which liberty ſupplies. There, loſſes and grudges to revenge; here, their late glory, with the ſovereignty of America, and of the ocean, to recover and preſerve. The allied nations have the advantage with which the union of two vaſt powers muſt be attended, but the inconvenience likewiſe which muſt reſult from this very union, by the difficulty of harmony and concord both in their deſigns, and in the execution of them

them by their reſpective forces; England is abandoned to herſelf, but having only her own forces to direct, ſhe has the advantage of unity in deſigns, and of a more ſure and perhaps more ready diſpoſition in ideas: ſhe can more eaſily range her plans of defence and offence under a ſingle view.

In order to weigh the matter with exactneſs, we ſhould yet put into the ſcales the different energy which may be communicated to the rival nations by a war, which is in a great many reſpects but a a war of kings and miniſters, on one ſide; but on the other, a truly national war, in which the greateſt intereſts of England are concerned; that of a commerce which produces her riches, that of an empire and a glory on which her greatneſs reſts.

In ſhort, if we conſider the ſpirit of the French nation, oppoſite to that of the nation with which it is at variance, we ſhall ſee that the ardour of the Frenchman is as quickly extinguiſhed as it is inflamed; that he hopes every thing when he begins, that he deſpairs of every thing as ſoon as an obſtacle ſhall retard him; that, from his character, his arm muſt be nerved by the enthuſiaſm of ſucceſs, in order to reap more ſucceſs: that the Engliſhman, on the contrary leſs preſumptuous, notwithſtanding his natural boldneſs, at the beginning, knows how, when occaſion calls for it, to ſtruggle courageouſly, to raiſe himſelf in proportion as the danger riſes, and to gather advantages even from diſgrace: like the robuſt oak to which Horace compares the Romans, which, mutilated by the axe, ſprings afreſh under

der the ſtrokes which are given it, and draws vigour and ſpirit from its very loſſes and its very wounds.

Hiſtory ſhews us likewiſe that few leagues have divided the ſpoil of the nation againſt which they have been formed. Athens victorious over Perſia; Rome ſaved from Hannibal; in modern times, Venice eſcaped from the famous league of Cambray; and, even in our own days, Pruſſia rendered by the genius of one man capable to cope with Europe, ſhould ſuſpend our judgment upon the iſſue of the preſent war.

But let us ſuppoſe that the houſe of Bourbon have the advantages with which it may have been flattered. What ought to be its conduct?

[*What ought to be the politics of the houſe of Bourbon if victorious.*]

France is in all points of view the empire the moſt ſtrongly conſtituted, of which any remembrance has been preſerved in the annals of the world. Without being able to bear any compariſon with her, Spain is likewiſe a very powerful ſtate, and her means of proſperity are continually increaſing. The moſt important concern then of the houſe of Bourbon ought to be, to obtain pardon of its neighbours for the advantages which it has from nature, which it owes to art, or which have been beſtowed on it by events. Should it endeavour to augment its ſuperiority, the alarm would become general, and it would be thought that an univerſal ſlavery was threatened. It is perhaps to be wondered at, that the

other

other nations of Europe have not yet thwarted it in its projects againſt England. The reſentment which the injuſtice and the haughtineſs of this proud iſland have every where inſpired, muſt be the cauſe of this inaction. But hatred is ſilent when intereſt appears. It is poſſible that Europe may think the weakening of Great Britain in the old and the new hemiſphere contrary to its ſafety; and that, after having enjoyed the humiliations and dangers of this lofty and tyrannic power, ſhe may at length take arms in its defence. Should it be ſo, the Courts of Verſailles and Madrid would ſee themſelves fallen from the hope which they have conceived of a deciſive preponderance upon the globe. Theſe conſiderations ſhould determine them to haſten their attacks, and not give time, for the forming of new diſpo-

ſitions, to a prophetic or even a jealous policy. Above all, let them ſtop in time, and not ſuffer an immoderate deſire of humbling their common enemy to make them blind to their own intereſts.

The United States have ſhewn openly the project of drawing all North America to their league. Many meaſures, that in particular of inviting the people of Canada to rebellion, have given cauſe to beheve that this was likewiſe the wiſh of France. Spain may be ſuſpected to have equally adopted this idea.

The conduct of the provinces which have ſhaken off the yoke of Great Britain is ſimple, and ſuch as was to be expected. But would not their allies be wanting in foreſight, if they ſhould have really the ſame ſyſtem?

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The new hemiſphere muſt be detached one day from the old. This grand ſciſſure is prepared in Europe, by the colliſion and fermentation of our opinions; by our being deprived of our rights, which conſtituted our courage; by the luxury of our courts and the miſery of our countries; by the hatred, the endleſs hatred, between men without heart, honour, or vigour, who poſſeſs all elſe, and robuſt men, and even virtuous men, who have nothing but life to looſe. It is prepared in America, by the increaſe of population, of cultivation, of induſtry, and of knowledge. Every thing forwards this rupture, as well the progreſs of evil in the old world, as in the new the progreſs of good.

But would it be right for Spain and France, whoſe poſſeſſions in the new world are an inexhauſtible ſource of riches, would it be right for them to precipi-

precipitate this rupture? Now this rupture is the thing that would preciſely happen, were all the north of thoſe regions ſubjected to the ſame laws, or bound together by a common intereſt.

No ſooner would the liberty of this vaſt continent be eſtabliſhed, than it would become the aſylum of all the offscouring amongſt us, of men of intriguing, ſeditious ſpirits, blaſted characters, or ruined fortunes. Culture, arts, commerce, would have no charms for ſuch refugees as theſe. They muſt have a leſs laborious and more agitated life: This turn of mind, equally diſtant from labour or repoſe, would direct itſelf towards conqueſts; and a paſſion which has ſo many attractions would eaſily captivate the firſt coloniſts, diverted by a long war from their accuſtomed occupations. The new people would have completed their preparations

parations for invaſion before the report of it had reached our climates. They would chuſe their enemy, the field and the moment of their victories. Their thunder would fall always upon ſeas without defence, or on coaſts taken at unawares. In a little while the Southern provinces would become their prey, and ſupply by the riches of their productions the mediocrity of thoſe of the Northern. Perhaps the poſſeſſions of our abſolute monarchies might even be candidates for the honour of being admitted to a confederacy with a free people, or would detach themſelves from Europe in order to belong but to themſelves.

The part which the Courts of Madrid and Verſailles ſhould take, if they are free to chuſe, is to let two powers ſubſiſt in North America, who may watch, reſtrain, and counterpoiſe each other.

Then

Then will ages roll away, before England and the republics formed at her expence can come together. This reciprocal diſtruſt will prohibit them from any diſtant enterprize; and the eſtabliſhments, belonging to other nations, in the new world, will enjoy without diſturbance that tranquillity, which, even down to our own times, has been ſo often troubled.

In all probability, indeed, it is the very order of things which would be moſt ſuitable even for the confederate provinces themſelves. Their reſpective limits are not regulated. A great jealouſy ſubſiſts between the countries to the northward and thoſe to the ſouthward. Political principles vary from one river to another. Great animoſities are obſerved between the inhabitants of the ſame town, between the members of the ſame family.

family. Each would throw off from himſelf the heavy burden of public expences and debts. A thouſand principles of diviſion are generally ſpringing in the boſom of the United States. When dangers are once at an end, how is the exploſion of ſo many diſcontents to be retarded? how are ſo many unſettled minds, and angered hearts, to be held attached to a common centre? Let the true friends of America reflect upon it, and they will find that the only means to prevent diſturbances, amongſt that people, is to leave remaining on their frontiers a powerful rival, always diſpoſed to profit by their diſſenſions.

Monarchies thrive beſt with peace and ſecurity; inquietudes, and formidable enemies, make republics flouriſh. Rome had need of Carthage; and he who deſtroyed

ſtroyed the Roman liberty was neither Sylla nor Cæſar; it was the firſt Cato, when his narrow and auſtere politics took her rival away from Rome, by lighting in the ſenate, thoſe torches which burnt Carthage to the ground. Even Venice, perhaps, would not have had her government, and her laws, theſe four hundred years, had ſhe not had at her door powerful neighbours, who might become her enemies or her maſters.

[*What idea ſhould be formed of the thirteen united provinces.*]

But, ſuppoſing them thus ſituated, to what degree of happineſs, ſplendour, and power, may the united provinces in time be raiſed?

Here, in order to form a ſound judgment, let us immediately begin with laying aſide the intereſt which all hearts,

not

not excepting thoſe of ſlaves, have taken in the generous efforts of a people who expoſed themſelves to the moſt dreadful calamities to be free. The name of liberty is ſo ſweet, that all they who fight for it are ſure to intereſt our ſecret wiſhes. Their cauſe is that of the whole human race; it becomes our own. We revenge ourſelves of our own oppreſſors, by giving vent, at leaſt, with liberty, to our hatred againſt thoſe oppreſſors who cannot puniſh it. At the ſound of breaking chains, it ſeems as if our own were about to become lighter; and we think for ſome moments that we breathe a purer air, in learning that fewer tyrants are to be counted in the world. Theſe great revolutions of liberty, moreover, admoniſh deſpots. They warn them not to truſt to too long patience in the people, not to truſt to impunity without end. Thus, when the laws of

ſociety

ſociety execute vengeance upon the crimes of private individuals, the good man hopes that the puniſhment of the guilty will, by its terrible example, prevent the commiſſion of the crimes. Terror ſometimes ſupplies the place of juſtice to the thief, and conſcience to the aſſaſſin. Such is the ſource of the warm intereſt we feel in all the wars of liberty. Such is that with which we have been inſpired for the Americans. Our imaginations have been inflamed in their favour. We ſeem to be preſent at and to feel as they do, all their victories and their defeats. The ſpirit of juſtice, which is pleaſed in compenſating paſt miſery by happineſs to come, is pleaſed in thinking that this part of the new world cannot fail of becoming one of the moſt flouriſhing countries upon the globe. Nay, it has been even ſuppoſed that there is cauſe to fear leſt Europe ſhould

one

one day find her Maſters in her children. Let us dare to ſtem the torrent of public opinion, and that of public enthuſiaſm. Let us not be led aſtray by imagination, that embelliſher of all things, nor by paſſion, which loves to create illuſions, and realizes all its hopes. Our duty is to combat every prejudice, ſhould it be even that which is moſt conformable to the wiſhes of our heart. To be true, above all things, is our chief concern, and not to betray the pure and upright conſcience which preſides over our writings, and dictates every judgment that we paſs. At this moment, perhaps we ſhall not be believed: but a bold conjecture, which is verified at the end of many ages, does more honour to the hiſtorian, than the recital of a long ſeries of facts which cannot be conteſted; and I write not only for my contemporaries, who will but ſome years ſurvive me.

Yet

Yet a few revolutions of the ſun, and they and I ſhall be no more. But I deliver over my ideas to poſterity and to time. It is for them to judge me.

The ſpace occupied by the thirteen republics, between the mountains and the ocean, is but of ſixty-ſeven ſea-leagues; but upon the coaſt their extent is, in a ſtrait line, three hundred and forty five.

In this region the lands are, almoſt throughout, bad, or of a middling quality. Scarcely any thing but maize grows in the four moſt northern colonies. The only reſource of their inhabitants is fiſhery, of which the annual product, in money, does not amount to above two hundred and ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds.

Corn ſuſtains principally the provinces of New York, Jerſey, and Pennſylvania. But the ſoil there is ſo rapidly become worſe

worſe than it was, that an acre, which formerly yielded full ſixty buſhels of wheat, now produces but very rarely above twenty.

Though the ſoil of Maryland and Virginia is much ſuperior to all the reſt, it cannot be ſaid to be very fruitful. The old plantations do not yield above a third of the tobacco which they formerly produced. It is not poſſible to form new ones; and the cultivators have been obliged to turn their views towards other objects.

North Carolina produces ſome corn, but of a quality ſo inferior, that it is ſold for five and twenty, or thirty per cent. leſs than the other, in all the markets.

South Carolina and Georgia have a perfectly flat face of country, for the diſtance of fifty miles from the ſea-ſide. The exceſſive rains which fall there, finding

finding no means of diſcharge, form numerous marſhes or lakes, in which rice is cultivated, to the great detriment of the ſlaves and the freemen occupied in this labour. On the intermediate ſpaces left by theſe multitudinous little ſeas, grows an inferior kind of indigo, which muſt have its place changed every year. Where the country riſes from the level, it is but with ungrateful ſands or frightful rocks, interſperſed, from diſtance to diſtance, with paſtures of the nature of ruſh.

The Engliſh government, ſeeing that North America could never enrich them by the productions proper to that country, thought of the powerful motive of premiums, for the creating in this part of the new world, of linen, wine, and ſilk. The poverty of the ſoil, which would not bear flax, obſtructed the firſt

of

of theſe views; the badneſs of the climate, which would not agree with vines, oppoſed the ſucceſs of the ſecond; and the want of hands permitted not the third to take place. The ſociety eſtabliſhed at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce, was not more happy than the miniſtry had been. Its premiums did not give birth to any one of the objects which it had propoſed to the activity and induſtry of thoſe countries.

Great Britain was obliged to content herſelf with ſelling every year to theſe countries, merchandize to the amount of ſomething more than two millions. The conſumers of this merchandize delivered up to her, excluſively, their indigo, their iron, their tobacco, and their furs. They delivered up to her whatever money, and raw materials, the reſt of the globe had

had given them for their wood, their corn, their fiſh, their rice, and their ſalted proviſions. Yet the balance was always ſo much againſt them, that, when the troubles began, the colonies owed from five to ſix millions to the mother-country, and had no caſh in circulation.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, there had been ſucceſſively formed, within the thirteen provinces, a population of two millions nine hundred eighty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight perſons, including four hundred thouſand negroes. Oppreſſion and intolerance were continually driving thither new inhabitants. The war has now barred this refuge to the unhappy; but the peace will open it to them again; when they will flock thither in greater numbers than ever. They who ſhall go with projects of cultivation will not have

all

all the ſatisfaction which they may promiſe themſelves, becauſe they will find the good land, and even the middling, all occupied; and there will be nothing to be offered them but barren ſands, unhealthy marſhes, or ſteep mountains. Emigration will be more favourable to manufactures and artiſts, tho' even they may, perhaps, gain nothing by their change of country and climate.

We cannot determine, without raſhneſs, what may one day be the population of the United States. Such a calculation, generally pretty difficult, becomes impracticable for a region where the land degenerates very rapidly, and where the expence of labour and improvement is not proportionably anſwered by the reproduction. If ten millions of men ever find a certain ſubſiſtence in theſe provinces, it will be much. Even

then the exportation will be reduced to nothing, or next to nothing: but interior induſtry will replace foreign induſtry. The country, within a little, will be able to ſuffice for itſelf, provided that the inhabitants know how to make themſelves happy by œconomy and with mediocrity.

Ye people of North America, let the example of all the nations who have gone before you, and above all that of your mother-country, ſerve you for inſtruction. Fear the affluence of gold, which brings with luxury the corruption of manners, the contempt of laws. Fear a too unequal diſtribution of riches, which exhibits a ſmall number of citizens in opulence, and a great multitude of citizens in extreme poverty; whence ſprings the inſolence of the former, and the debaſement of the latter. Secure your-

ſelves

ſelves againſt the ſpirit of conqueſt. The tranquillity of an empire diminiſhes in proportion to its extenſion. Have arms for your defence; have none for offence. Seek competency and health in labour; proſperity in the culture of lands, and the workſhops of induſtry; power in manners and virtue. Cauſe arts and ſciences, which diſtinguiſh the civiliſed from the ſavage man, to flouriſh and abound. Above all, watch carefully over the education of your children. It is from public ſchools, be aſſured, that come the wiſe magiſtrates, the capable and courageous ſoldiers, the good fathers, the good huſbands, the good brothers, the good friends, the good men. Wherever the youth are ſeen depraved, the nation is on the decline. Let liberty have an immoveable foundation in the wiſdom of your laws, and let it be the indeſtructible cement to bind your provinces

vinces together. Eſtabliſh no legal preference amongſt the different forms of worſhip. Superſtition is innocent, wherever it is neither perſecuted nor protected; and may your duration, if it be poſſible, equal the duration of the world!

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